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MEMOIRS

CORRESPONDENCE AND MANUSCRIPTS

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

PUBLISHED BY HIS FAMILY.

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THIRD VOYAGE TO AMERICA.*

1782—1784.

THE projects of co-operation for the complete delivery of the two Carolinas not having been realized, Lafayette returned home on the following winter (1782), in the American frigate *the Alliance*, the same which had been granted him before to convey him back to France. It may be easily imagined that he did not lose sight of the interests of the United States. The congress passed a resolution that the American ministers and agents, in every part of Europe, were authorized to communicate all their affairs to M. de Lafayette, and to consult with him on all occasions. He took an active part in the negotiations that were entered into by the English envoys with the ministers plenipotentiary from the United States to Paris; but more than negotiations were required to obtain the desired peace. The courts of France and Spain combined an important operation, and confided

* This recital is extracted from the two manuscripts which have been already so frequently quoted from, on the American life of M. de Lafayette.

the general command of their land and sea forces to the Count d'Estaing, who, when accepting that difficult and honourable task, exacted that Lafayette should be employed with him, and the latter was named chief of the staffs of the combined armies. Whilst labouring in the plan of the campaign, Lafayette did not, of course, neglect the interests of the United States. The expedition was to set out from Cadiz, and a corps of six thousand Spaniards was united to the French troops of Gibraltar. Lafayette embarked at Brest, with four battalions of infantry, an equipage of artillery, and five thousand recruits, and went to join, at Cadiz,* the Count d'Estaing, who had repaired thither by land through Madrid. It was intended to sail first to Jamaica, and attack that island with sixty ships of the line, and larger land forces than had ever yet assembled at the West Indies. Lafayette obtained from the generalissimo and the French ministry that it should be inserted in the plan of campaign, that, after having taken Jamaica, Count d'Estaing should proceed to New York with a large fleet, from whence he was to detach a convoy of six thousand Frenchmen, under the orders of Lafayette, to make the revolution of Canada, an expedition of which the latter had never lost sight. When d'Estaing (whilst arrangements were making for the plan of the campaign) proposed to Charles the Third to name at first Lafayette commander of Jamaica,—"No, no!" replied the old monarch, with some warmth, "I will not consent to that; he would make it into a republic." But he did consent to the plan

* At the moment of his departure, Lafayette, whilst repairing to Versailles to take leave, obtained the promise of an additional succour of six millions of livres for the United States. —(Note of M. de Lafayette.)

of sending a naval force to New York and some troops to Canada. This grand expedition would have assembled at the islands sixty-six vessels and twenty-five thousand men. The corps of Rochambeau had already arrived to join them in a port of Spanish America. The French troops of the camp of Saint Roch, under Baron Falkenheim, and a fine division of six thousand Spaniards, commanded by General Lascazas, were assembled at Cadiz. The whole staff was composed of equal portions of French and Spaniards. The secret destination of the armament was only known to the generalissimo and the chief of the staff, and all things seemed to promise the success of the most powerful expedition that had ever been undertaken in the colonies, when they learnt that the American commissioners had signed the peace at Paris, and as they were on the point of sailing, they heard that a general peace had been also signed by the Counts de Vergennes and Aranda. A courier brought the news to Cadiz. Lafayette wished to carry it himself to the United States, but he received a letter from Carmichael, their chargé d'affaires at Madrid, telling him that his presence and influence were necessary to the success of their negotiations at the court of Spain. He confined himself, therefore, to merely asking Count d'Estaing for a vessel to send the news to America. M. d'Estaing politely gave him the one called *Le Triomphe*, and she was the first one bearing the intelligence of the peace that reached its destination. Lafayette, on his arrival at Madrid, found that Spanish dilatoriness, and, above all, the jealousy which the court felt at the emancipation of the American colonies, had left those negotiations as little advanced as they were on the first day of Mr. Jay's arrival in Spain as envoy from the United

States. He had neither succeeded in pleasing nor inspiring confidence at court, and he departed without having obtained anything, leaving at Madrid his own secretary of legation, Carmichael, who had made himself personally beloved, but had never been officially recognised. Lafayette was himself well received by the King of Spain. He had some conferences with the Count de Florida Blanca, and whilst he spoke to him with pride of the United States, ended by declaring, that if, on the following Saturday, the day fixed for the reception of the ambassadors, Carmichael was not presented as a chargé d'affaires from the United States, they should both leave Spain immediately, and that, for a length of time, no envoy from America should be seen at Madrid. They agreed on some points that are found consigned in a letter to M. de Florida Blanca, ratified by some words written by that minister himself, and which have served as the basis of the arrangements since entered into with the court of Spain. He repaired to Prado, the king's country-seat, accompanied by Carmichael, who wrote to congress that it was to Lafayette he owed his official reception at that court, and the advancement of a negotiation that had dragged on for such a length of time. Lafayette then returned to Paris.

The separation of the army was the period of the creation in America of the Cincinnatus Society, which has been calumniated both in that country and in Europe, whilst all the French officers who had served in the army were proud of obtaining and wearing that mark of distinction. Lafayette was charged to acknowledge the services of those who had fulfilled the conditions imposed by the institution. He acquitted himself of that task in a very

zealous manner, and practised himself all the duties which the fraternity demanded towards his comrades in arms: but in the letters he addressed to General Washington and some other friends, it is evident that he counselled renouncing the hereditary rights of this institution, which alone could be attended with any possible inconvenience. It is well known that the American officers, at the request of General Washington, renounced, themselves, that hereditary right with that patriotism and noble disinterestedness which have ever characterized them.

Lafayette employed at Paris the influence his successes had obtained for him in representing to the government the real commercial interests of France and America, founded on a mutual exchange of mercantile liberty. After having rendered to the Americans all the services in his power, he repaired, at the commencement of 1784, on a visit to those States whose liberty, independence, and prosperity, had been thus at length secured.

He landed at New York, was received in a triumphant manner both in town and country, and proceeded to Philadelphia. He visited Yorktown, Williamsburg, and Richmond, the theatre of his campaign in 1781. General Washington came to meet him at Richmond, and they returned to pass some days together at Washington's country-place, Mount Vernon. When they were obliged to separate, the general conducted Lafayette to Baltimore, Annapolis, and Philadelphia. They received the warmest expressions of affection from the citizens of the United States. It may be truly said, that both enjoyed the highest continental popularity, and that, in this respect, they belonged equally to all the states of the union. It was observed that Lafayette expressed, in the southern

states, even in his official answers to addresses, his desire of, one day, seeing legislators occupied in abolishing slavery. An honourable and extraordinary mark of distinction (which no person except General Washington has ever enjoyed) was conferred upon him at Trenton, where he was received in the congress-hall, in which a deputy from each state had assembled to take leave of him in the name of the United States, and to offer him, through Mr. Jay, the president of the committee, an affectionate and honourable farewell. Lafayette's reply, which was much spoken of at the time, excited still more attention at the breaking out of the French revolution.

He visited the four states of New England, and was received there with an universal feeling of affection, to which all the papers of that period bear witness. His former comrades in arms, above all, officers of the army, expressed their joy at seeing him again, and his heart replied to their demonstrations of attachment with all that warmth of affection which he had felt for them ever since the commencement of the war. He has repeated a thousand times, that public virtues had never been displayed to such perfection as by the American army: he loved the soldiers for their courage, patience, and confidence in him, and their affection for him has even become proverbial in the army.

He embarked at Boston, after the celebration of a brilliant fête, in which the whole population had taken part. The French ministry had sent a frigate for him of 40 guns. He arrived safely at Lorient, and continued in France to render to the United States all the political and commercial services which it was in his power to perform. His house became the rendezvous of the Americans.

His correspondence with General Washington describes the frequent conferences and discussions he had with several successive ministers, and with the committees named to listen to his representations respecting the interests of the United States and those of the French merchants, which were, in fact, the same, but which were often injured by the fiscal laws, the various restraints imposed on French industry, the ancient habits of the government, and the desire of promoting the financial interests of the country.

The American congress passed a vote giving the most honourable testimony of their affection, gratitude, and confidence towards him. The different states vied with each other in bestowing his name on their towns and counties. The freedom of the cities was offered him. He received fresh diplomas, granting to himself, his son, and descendants, the rights of citizenship of the United States. The State of Virginia placed his bust in its capital of Richmond. His marble bust was also presented to the city of Paris, by the minister of the United States, and received with great pomp at the Hotel-de-Ville. It was placed in the principal hall, in which the electors assembled the 12th of July, 1789. In that same hall, Lafayette was afterwards elected commander-general of the Parisian troops, and in it, at a later period, we may say, that the revolution itself was achieved. That bust, guarded for a length of time by the national guard, was attacked by the Jacobins, and destroyed at the period of their successes, the 10th of August.

In his correspondence with General Washington, Lafayette endeavoured to make him acquainted with the affairs of Europe, and mentioned his deter-

mination, in 1785, to make an experiment at his own expense in Cayenne, in relation to the gradual enfranchisement of the blacks. He describes, also, a journey he made to the courts and armies of Germany, especially to the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia. He heard everywhere sentiments of respect testified for General Washington. It may be evidently seen in his letters that he carried with him, in all places, his ideas and projects of liberty, and that he expressed them as frankly in foreign courts as he had ever made a point of doing in the court of France. Those letters apprized likewise his friend, General Washington, of his own designs, and his adhesion to those measures of opposition which distinguished the year previous to the revolution. General Washington, on his side, gave an account of all the important events then passing in America, amongst which is comprised the convention that fixed the present constitution of the United States. He announced to him his election to the presidency; and Lafayette, in his reply, observes, that he congratulates himself doubly on this circumstance, both for the United States and for the general cause of liberty, because General Washington, from his peculiar situation, as well as private character, being raised above all personal ambition, could judge better than any other person of the proportion of executive power which may be necessary to the support of the constitution, and would only accept himself what he considered essential to the public welfare. From those letters, as well as from the whole conduct and expressions of Lafayette, it is evident that filial respect and tender friendship never glowed with greater warmth than in the breast of Lafayette for General Washington.

When the French revolution broke out, Lafayette related to the general all the particulars of that event. Washington felt still keener interest in that drama, from one of the principal parts being acted by a pupil of the American school, and the friend who was most dear to his heart; but it is apparent from his letters that he was fully aware of the immense difficulty of maintaining order in such a numerous population as that of Paris, and that he always feared that to secure its duration was beyond the power of man.

When the government completely changed in France, that change was neither for the edification nor advantage of the United States. The Americans felt an additional interest in the revolution from a person bearing an active part in it with whose sentiments and principles they had been long acquainted. M. de Ternant, minister from France to America, was an ancient officer in the army, whose appointment was due to Lafayette, and who, from these two causes, inspired confidence in the United States. But the scene suddenly changed. The Americans, connoisseurs themselves in liberty, were not duped by the republican words with which a party in France endeavoured to disguise their attacks against the sovereignty of the nation, and their tyrannical measures against individuals. Ternant was recalled, and a minister was appointed, whose first instructions had been, to injure, as far as possible, the credit of General Washington and that of Lafayette, who was at that time a prisoner of the coalition. It is singular that when the *girondin* ministers and writers accused Lafayette, at the bar of the assembly, and in the papers, of not having shewn himself worthy of being the companion of

Washington, they should thus have united together both their names to serve their own malevolent purposes. But it was absurd in them to fancy that they could destroy an influence which was so deeply engraven on the hearts of men.

CORRESPONDENCE,

1782—1784.

RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS RESPECTING GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

(ORIGINAL.)

In Congress, November 22nd, 1781.

THE report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Carroll, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Cornell, to whom was referred a letter of the 22nd, from Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette.

Resolved—

That Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette have permission to go to France; and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him.

That he be informed, that on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry, and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by congress of his merits and military talents.

That he make known to the officers and troops

whom he commanded during that period, that the brave and enterprising services with which they seconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy far superior in numbers, have been beheld by congress with particular satisfaction and approbation.*

That the secretary of foreign affairs acquaint the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, that it is the desire of congress that they should confer with the Marquis de Lafayette, and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of public affairs in the United States.

That the secretary of foreign affairs further acquaint the minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, that he will conform to the intention of congress by consulting with, and employing the assistance of, the Marquis de Lafayette, in accelerating the supplies which may be afforded by his most Christian majesty for the use of the United States.

That the superintendent of finance, the secretary for foreign affairs, and the board of war, make such communication to the Marquis de Lafayette, touching the affairs of their respective departments, as will best enable him to fulfil the purpose of the two resolutions immediately preceding.

That the superintendent of finance take order for discharging the engagement entered into by the Marquis de Lafayette with the merchants of Baltimore, referred to in the act of the 24th of May last.

* It is seen by a letter from M. de Lafayette to General Washington, of the 29th of November, that, at the period of that resolution, the different companies forming the Virginian corps were dispersed, and that Washington was, consequently, charged with informing them of the approbation of congress.

That the superintendent of finance furnish the Marquis de Lafayette with a proper conveyance to France.

That the secretary of foreign affairs report a letter to his most Christian majesty, to be sent by the Marquis de Lafayette.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CONGRESS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Dated November 29th, 1781.

MAJOR-GENERAL the Marquis de Lafayette has in this campaign so greatly added to the reputation he had before acquired, that we are desirous even to obtain for him, on our behalf, notice, in addition to that favourable reception which his merits cannot fail to meet with from a generous and enlightened sovereign; and in that view, we have directed our minister plenipotentiary to present the marquis to your majesty.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Lorient, January 18th, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I thank my stars there is a good opportunity to let you know that, after a happy voyage of twenty-three days, I am safely arrived in Lorient, and that my family and friends are in very good health, which circumstance, my dear general, I am sure will afford you some satisfaction. We arrived last night, and are setting out this morning, in great speed, for Versailles and Paris, so that I have but time to scribble a line, and beg leave to request your excellency will please to let my friends know of my safe arrival. How happy I am to be in France, and to enjoy the sight of my friends. I anticipate the pleasure to find

myself again, in a few months, on the American shore, and to feel the unspeakable satisfaction which I have ever experienced when, after an absence, I could once more arrive at head-quarters.

As I am just arrived, I cannot be very particular in my intelligence. From what I pick up ashore, I find that Lord Cornwallis's downfal had a glorious effect, and was properly felt in France, England, and, indeed, throughout Europe. The birth of a Dauphin has given general satisfaction. The taking of St. Eustache is a clever affair, and I never read of a prettier *coup de main*. The Dutch will, no doubt, be greatly pleased with the conduct of the French. Old Count de Maurepas is dead. Charlus is adjutant-general of the gendarmerie of France, which his father commands. It appears that the convoy from Brest to the East and West Indies has met with an accident. Twenty-three vessels, it is said, are taken. I am not much acquainted with particulars; but from a bad event we may derive some good, if it be an inducement to do what we have been talking about.

Be so kind, my dear general, to present my best respects to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to the family and George,* and to my friends of the army. On my arrival, I found a letter from Madame de Lafayette for America, wherein she desires her most affectionate compliments to you.

Adieu, my dear general; we are ready to go, and yet when I think you are so many thousand miles distant, I cannot leave off writing to you. Viscount de Noailles, General Portail, Gouvion, and all the detachment of your army, now at Lorient, join in presenting their respects to you; and I, my dear

* George Washington, nephew to the general.

general, need only add that I am ever your grateful and respectful friend.

Count de Charlus being major-general of the gendarmerie, I am told the Prince de Broglie, a son of the general's, will take his place in your army.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Versailles, January 30th, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Having landed some days ago at Lorient, I had the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival, and hope the letter will have a prosperous passage. You may easily imagine, my dear general, that no time was lost in posting off to Paris, where I found my family and friends in perfect health. My daughter and your George* are grown up so much that I find myself a great deal older than I apprehended. The short stay I have hitherto made cannot have fully apprised me of all circumstances. There nothing very important has lately happened; for I trust, before this reaches you, that you will have heard of the unlucky turn of the weather, that forced the outward-bound convoys to put up again in the harbour of Brest. Measures had been taken to be beforehand with the enemy in every quarter of the world. It is true, Rodney, it is said, has also been obliged to return. Lord Cornwallis has been taken in a merchant vessel, and ransomed by a French privateer. We heard

* Mr. George Washington Lafayette.

nothing of Arnold. It is said Lord George Germaine is going to quit his post.

As I told you my opinion of the ministers, and also the degree of friendship that subsists between me and each of them, I will only add, that I am hitherto much satisfied with their zeal and good intentions for America; but find it very difficult, even next to impossible, to get money. On my arrival, Mr. Franklin told me none could be expected. However, I had some conversation on the subject. I hope, *between us*, something may be obtained, but would not have Mr. Morris* to be sanguine. What can be done Chevalier de la Luzerne will of course announce; but congress will be mistaken, if they build their expectations of money from this quarter. However, I will exert myself for the best, to promote that and every other view which may be interesting to America. As to grand operations, or more minute circumstances of supplies, though I have had conversations on the subject with the king and his ministers, I cannot, as yet, write you anything particular, and will endeavour to do it by the first favourable opportunity.

It is generally thought in this quarter, that the exertions of America are not equal to her abilities. Nothing can operate stronger for further assistance, than printed assurances of a numerous, well-clothed, and well-fed army for the war. Congress ought to be very careful of that matter; for you may depend upon it, England is determined to play a desperate game, and to try, at least, another campaign. Whether it will be a defensive one in America, and offensive elsewhere, or the reverse of that, I cannot as yet ascertain. But I think the evacuation of New

* Mr. Morris was minister of finance.

York and Charlestown, is as far from their ideas for next campaign as the very evacuation of London, and to get out of it they must be driven.

The reception I have met with from the nation at large, from the king, and from my friends, will, I am sure, be pleasing to you, and has surpassed my utmost ambition. The king spoke of you to me in terms of so high a confidence, regard, admiration, and affection, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. I have been the other day invited to the Marshal de Richelieu's, with all the marshals of France, where your health was drunk with great veneration, and I was requested to present you with the homage of that body. All the young men of this court are soliciting permission to go to America. I must tell you that the news about Cardinal de Bernis was only a rumour propagated in the provinces, and it appears the king intends him to be his own first minister.

Madame de Lafayette requests I will present her respectful and affectionate compliments to you and to Mrs. Washington. Viscount de Noailles begs leave to offer his best respects. Be so kind as to present mine to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to the family, to George, and to my friends in the army. Adieu, my dear general: however happy in my situation here, I could not have a moment's rest had I not a certainty that nothing is doing in America; that my services could not for the present be of any use to you, and that the light companies have joined their respective regiments. It is always pleasing to my heart to repeat the homage of the respect and attachment that makes me for ever, &c.

TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Paris, March 20th, 1782.

You requested me, sir, a few days ago, to send you some extracts from my Spanish letters. From the kindness of congress in desiring all their ministers to correspond with me, I am acquainted with the proposals the Americans have made, and with the reluctance the Spaniards have testified to form any treaty with them. It might be more politic, perhaps, to conceal this opinion; but it would be unjust to attribute obstacles to those who are exerting themselves to levy them.

The 2nd of July, 1781,—the ministers informed Mr. Jay that congress, acquainted with the objection made to the ratification of the treaty, had resolved to yield the point in dispute. That point related to the navigation of the Mississipi; and Mr. Jay requested that a person might be appointed to settle the various articles of the treaty with him.

The 21st of July,—the minister wrote that he would present the letter to his majesty.

The 19th of September,—the minister announced that he would propose to the king to nominate a person charged to confer upon the subject, and that he would present to the king a letter from Mr. Morris relative to the succours which he gave him hopes of obtaining: the minister finally demanded a statement of the proposals which were to become the basis of the treaty.

The 22nd of September,—the proposals were sent.

The 27th of September,—another letter from the minister, announcing that a person was to be appointed to confer on the subject, and adding that instructions should be given before the court set out for the Escurial.

The 5th of October,—as the court was on the point of setting out, Mr. Jay wrote again to the minister, and informed him that he was expecting his orders from the Escurial: the minister replied that he would write the moment he could say anything positive relative to this affair.

The 10th of December,—the minister announced the appointment of Don Bernardo del Campo, whose instructions, he said, would be ready in nine or ten days.

The 27th of December,—M. del Campo excused himself from entering upon the matter by saying his instructions were not yet made out, nor even begun, and that he did not know when they would be so: this M. del Campo is first secretary to the minister.

The 1st of February, 1782,—M. del Campo repeated the excuse of the 27th December.

The 16th of February,—same excuse.

When Mr. Jay addresses himself to the minister, he is either much occupied or ill, and refers Mr. Jay to Don Bernardo del Campo; and Don Bernardo del Campo, not having received any instructions, can only promise to speak on the subject to the minister.

This want of health, time, or instructions, has hitherto occasioned the neglect of all the memorials which have been presented by the American minister.

I do not allow myself, sir, to judge of the policy of a court which so many motives induce me to respect; but the Americans very justly desire that all the particulars of their conduct should be made known to the king, and that he whose treaties had been founded on generosity and frankness should

not have cause to suspect that his American allies, in their negotiations with Spain, have failed either from want of good faith or good will.

From the hopes given the 19th of September, it was supposed that the succours granted by Spain would exceed the trifling sums America has hitherto received from her; but some remaining letters of exchange, amounting to £25,000 sterling, would have been protested, if Mr. Franklin had not made use of the money which had been placed at his disposal: I therefore perceive, sir, that the right France has acquired to the glory of this revolution and the gratitude of the Americans, cannot be justly shared by any other European power.

The despatches of M. de la Vauguion will undoubtedly inform you of the state of American affairs in Holland. From what Mr. Adams has written to me, I fancy they are at present taking a favourable turn.

Receive, I beseech you, sir, the assurance of my respect and affection, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Antony, March 30th, 1782.

My dear General,—The sailing of the *Alliance* has been so unexpected, that Mr. Franklin and myself have not been able to send the despatches we intended to forward by that opportunity. There is now a French cutter which has been pretty suddenly sent off to America. I expected to write by a frigate which is to sail in a short time; but can-

not let this opportunity slip away without having the pleasure to let you hear of my welfare.

The taking of Mahon has occurred sooner than was generally expected. General Murray and General Draper are about to quarrel, as generally happens after a misfortune between British commanders. The siege of Gibraltar is going on. The capture of St. Kitts has been the better felt in England, as, upon a letter from Sir Samuel Hood, the sanguine part of the nation had conceived hopes to preserve this island. Many provinces in Holland are about to acknowledge American independence. There is a great confusion among the parliamentary part of the British nation. Some are of opinion this is a finesse of Lord North, who wishes to throw upon parliament the blame of having given up their colonies. It has been long said he would retire; but he has hitherto kept his place, and the opposition members do not well agree together. However, we have just got intelligence that a change of ministers was about to take place.

I have written to Mr. Livingston* about negotiations of peace, respecting French money, and Spain, and have requested he will communicate my letter to your excellency. We must not hope for Spanish money, nor, notwithstanding their compliments, for Dutch money.

As to the ideas you gave me in writing, I have represented them in the strongest light imaginable. I had a long conversation with the King of France about it. I had many with the French ministers. They have plans about the West Indies. They also are stopped by Spain, and without Spanish ships I am afraid the British fleet there will some-

* Minister for Foreign Affairs.

what exceed the French ships, or at least be upon a par. Dutch ships are not to be reckoned. To get Spanish ships in America is the great affair. Without it maritime superiority is very difficult; the more so as they are not strangers to some notions about Great Britain, which, however, appear to me far from being settled. Though nothing is fixed upon the aforementioned points, I am inclined to believe in Charlestown rather than in New York. For my part, I much prefer the former; but am afraid Spain will offer obstacles. They are always for the West Indies. Had I only to manage the French ministers it would be a much easier task. I think we may hope for operations in September.

Many people are of opinion the enemy mean to evacuate New York and Charlestown. For my part, I am not so sanguine, and think it would be a great mistake in us to calculate upon this supposition, either in France or in America.

Under present circumstances, my dear general, of foreseen negotiations, or at least possible ones, and the unsettled situation of those I have just now mentioned, I think it consistent with your instructions, and perhaps useful to America, that I should remain some time in Europe, that I may avail myself of circumstances and opportunities. I hope, my dear general, you will approve of my conduct. May I flatter myself that an expectation of being useful has somewhat detained my departure, I shall nevertheless be considered as a candidate for the command of the light infantry; a command which is the utmost of my ambition, and which will not displease that corps. And the moment I cease to be useful, or the moment a determination is taken, I hope to sail for America. I flatter

myself the infantry will not be drawn out before I can present myself among the candidates.

There will be a decision before May, and one French ship may carry it immediately for the West Indies, and another do the same for America. I will lose no time.

In the present situation of affairs, we must, I think, prepare vigorously, and I hope to fulfil your wishes, at least so far as respects Charlestown.

I so perfectly know the sentiments of congress and those of the nation, that I am sure not only their decisions upon political points, but also the expression of them, will add a new lustre to the idea they have given of their liberality and noble spirit. I am sure, my dear general, that, everything considered, you will find I am much in the right to wait a few weeks and see what turn affairs are taking. To serve our noble cause is the utmost of my ambition, and I will embrace every measure that may be productive of that end.

I will also add, my dear general, that everything I write in this letter being the result of the confidence that has been placed in me, I must write for you alone, and this is as confidential as the most secret parts of our correspondence.

Since I left America, I received one letter from you by the *Hermione*. I am very happy to hear that a spirit of economy and arrangement is diffused throughout every department, and for many reasons I hope we may have a numerous army for the operations of the campaign.*

* This is in reply to a letter of the 4th January, in which General Washington explained, fully, the situation of America, and insisted on two points,—viz., obtaining some pecuniary succour, and a naval superiority.

I have been, for a few days, at this country seat, with the Marquis de Castries, who, during the holy-days, comes to take some respite from ministerial cares. We are united by an intimate friendship, and I am happy to find that, since he has been at the head of the navy, we have had a series of successes. Had it not been for the storm that M. de Guichen met with on his leaving Brest, we should not, independent of the Spaniards, have lost our maritime superiority in the West Indies.

Now, my dear general, I will speak to you of my private concerns. Independent of my situation at court and among private circles, the marks of affection I every day receive from the people at large, render me as happy as I can possibly be. Such influence as I may have will be truly precious to me whenever it can do some little good to our adorable cause. I am perfectly satisfied with the dispositions of this government. Both nations will for ever be attached to each other; and I see both are so much the object of British envy and treachery that it will cement among them an eternal amity and alliance.

Madame de Lafayette requests I will present to you her most affectionate and respectful compliments, and also to Mrs. Washington, whom she most fervently prays to make, after the war, a voyage to France, and spend some time in our family, where we should be so very happy to receive you.

I am, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, April 12th, 1782.

My dear General,—However sensible I am that our cause may be better served by my presence here than it could possibly be at this period by my returning to America, I cannot refrain from a painful sentiment at the sight of so many French officers who are going to join their colours in America. I shall, thank God! follow them before anything passes that may have any danger or any importance; but I am so far from the army, so far from head-quarters, so far from American intelligence, that, however happy I am rendered here, I cannot help, ten times a day, wishing myself on the other side of the Atlantic. This letter, my dear general, is entrusted to Count de Ségur, the eldest son of the Marquis de Ségur, minister of state and of the war department, which in France has a great importance. Count de Ségur was shortly to have a regiment, but he prefers serving in America, and under your orders; he is one of the most amiable, sensible, and good-natured men I ever saw; he is my very intimate friend. I recommend him to you, my dear general, and through you to everybody in America, particularly in the army.

A few recruits are going out with this convoy, and will be protected by a frigate. They are destined to fill up the regiments, and prove nothing either for or against any operation in the campaign. Mr. Franklin has not been able to procure vessels to take in some stores he has got at Brest. I have requested the Marquis de Castries to let us have what he could spare. It will for this time amount to

nothing or very little, but he promised me we should have a thousand tons in the next convoy, and upon the whole I like it better, as the convoy will sail under a better protection, and two months before 49 (July).

Inclosed I send you, my dear general, the copy of a letter lately written by a French cutter. I have little to add on one article, but that my expectations are increasing about 47 (Charlestown), but Spain will insist upon 26 (West Indies). We expect intelligence about what they mean at least to do in every quarter with Spanish ships, upon which I will conclude with the King of France and his ministers. I do not forget French money; the moment I know better, one of the French ships will let you have a full account.*

The new ministry have not as yet done anything of importance. As Holland was about acknowledging independence, England has endeavoured to draw away their attention from it, and has proposed peace to them under the mediation of Russia. Nothing as yet is finally settled. I hope we may there get the better of British cabals. I have requested Mr. Livingston to communicate a few words I have written in cyphers upon political subjects.

Admiral Barrington, with twelve ships of the line, is to go out, and his destination has been kept very secret; some people imagine he is going to take away the troops from New York and Charlestown, which it is not much in their power to reinforce. It was said Lord North was rather glad of

* The important information of this part of the letter is written in cypher. Thus, 60 signifies the King of France; 47 Charlestown, &c. The same precaution was observed in the greatest number of the ensuing letters.

an opportunity to leave the helm at so critical a period, and would not have his name affixed to a disadvantageous peace.

M. Laurens is in England upon his parole; I intend writing this day to him by a private opportunity, and will advise him, if possible, to get a permission to go out of Great Britain. I wish he was in France, where, if exchanged, he might confer with the other commissioners upon the affair of peace.

I beg, my dear general, you will present my best respects to Mrs. Washington. Madame de Lafayette, your son George, and my daughter, join in the most affectionate compliments to you and to her. Remember me, my dear general, most tenderly to the family and the gentlemen of the army.

Most respectfully I have the honour to be, yours, &c.

TO MR. ROBERT LIVINGSTON.*

(ORIGINAL.)

St. Germain, June 25, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—It is needless for me to enter into such details as will of course be communicated to congress by the minister. Dr. Franklin will doubtless be very particular; but as congress have been pleased to order that I should give my opinion, I now have the honour to tell you what I think upon

* This letter, as well as almost all those addressed to American Ministers from 1782 to 1787, is extracted from the collection entitled, "*The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution.*" Boston, 1830, vol. x.

Mr. Livingston was secretary of state for foreign affairs.

the several transactions that have lately taken place.

Before the change of ministry, the old administration had sent people to feel the pulse of the French court and of the American ministers. They had reason to be convinced that neither of the two could be deceived into separate arrangements that would break the union and make both their enemies weaker. In the meanwhile a cabal was going on against the old ministry; new appointments took place, and it is not known how far Lord North would have gone towards a general negotiation.

It had ever been the plan of the opposition to become masters of the cabinet; but while every one of them united against the ministry, they committed this strange blunder, never to think what would become of them after their views had been fulfilled. They even made ministers, and upon the first day they did not know how to divide the prey; upon the second they perceived that they had different interests and different principles to support; upon the third they were intriguing against each other, and now the British ministry are so much divided, that nothing but their disputes can account for their indecision in public affairs.

The Marquis of Rockingham has nothing of a minister but the parade of levees and a busy appearance. He is led by Mr. Burke; he is also upon the best terms with Charles Fox: the principles of the latter everybody knows. That party, it appears, is on our side in the administration.

The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden think it their interest to support Lord Shelburne, whom, however, they inwardly dislike. The Earl of Shelburne seems to have by far the greater share in the king's confidence. He is intriguing, and, upon

a pretence to follow Lord Chatham's opinions, makes himself agreeable to the king by opposing American independence: he is, they say, a faithless man, wishing for a continuation of the war, by which he hopes to raise his own importance; and should the Rockingham party fall, should Lord Shelburne be found to divide power with another party, he is not far, it is said, from uniting with Lord North and many others in the old administration.

The king stands alone, hating every one of his ministers, grieving at every measure that combats his dispositions, and wishing for the moment when the present ministry, having lost their popularity, will give way to those whom he has been obliged to abandon for a time.

Such is the position in which they stand, and I am going to relate the measures they have taken towards negotiation.

It appears that Lord Shelburne, on the one hand, and Charles Fox on the other, went upon the plan which Lord North had adopted to make some private advances, but they neither communicated their measures to each other, nor said at first anything of it in the cabinet. Count de Vergennes said that France could never think to enter into a treaty but in concurrence with her allies, and upon being told that America herself did not so much insist upon asking for independence, he answered, "People need not ask for what they have got." Mr. Adams in Holland, and Dr. Franklin in Paris, made such answers as were consistent with the dignity of the United States, but they, as well as Count de Vergennes, expressed a sincere desire for peace upon liberal and generous terms.

From the very beginning, Mr. Adams has been persuaded that the British ministry were not sincere; that the greater part of them were equally against America as any in the old administration, and that all these negotiations were not much to be depended upon. His judgment in this affair has been confirmed by events, though at present the negotiation has put on a better outward appearance.

Dr. Franklin's pen is better able than mine can be to give you all the particulars through which Mr. Grenville, a young man of some rank, is now remaining in Paris, with powers to treat with his most Christian Majesty, and all other princes or states now at war with Great Britain.

I shall only remark that, in late conversations with the Count de Vergennes, Mr. Grenville has considered the acknowledgment of independence as a matter not to be made a question of, but to be at once and previously declared; but upon Count de Vergennes's writing down Mr. Grenville's words to have them signed by him, that gentleman, instead of this expression, "The King of England has *resolved* at once to acknowledge, &c." insisted to have the words *is disposed* made use of in what he intended to be considered as his official communication. He has also evinced a backwardness in giving Dr. Franklin a copy of his powers, and their ministry are backward also in bringing before parliament a bill respecting American independence, so that it does not show a great disposition towards a peace, the preliminaries of which must be an acknowledgment of America as a separate and independent nation.

It is probable that within these two days Dr.

Franklin has had some communication with Mr. Grenville, which may throw some light upon the late points which I have now just mentioned.

M. Jay is arrived from Madrid; M. Laurens, it seems, intends to return home. Mr. Adams's presence in Holland is for the moment necessary. A few days will make us better acquainted with the views of Great Britain, and since the ministers from congress have thought that I ought, for the service of America, to remain here some time longer, I shall, under their direction, devote myself to promote the interests of the United States. The footing I am upon at this court enables me sometimes to go greater lengths than could be done by a foreigner, but unless an immediate earnest negotiation, which I am far from hoping, renders my services useful, I shall beg leave to return to my labours, and be employed in a shorter way to ensure the end of this business than can be found in political dissertation.

I have communicated the opinion of Mr. Adams, such as I found it in his letter. Dr. Franklin's ideas will be presented by himself, and also those of Mr. Jay, both of which must be preferable to mine, though I do not believe they much differ; but from what I have collected by communications with your ministers, with those of the French, and by private intelligence, I conclude—

1st. That the British ministry are at variance between themselves, embarrassed upon the conduct they ought to hold, and not firm in their principles and their places:

2ndly. That negotiations will go on shortly, establish principles, and facilitate a treaty; but that the King of England and some of the ministers have

not lost the idea of breaking the union between France and the United States:

3rdly. That the situation of England, the want of men and money, and the efforts France is about to make, will reduce the former to a necessity for making peace before the end of next spring.

America will no doubt exert herself, and send back every emissary to her plenipotentiaries here, for the ministry in England are now deceiving the people with the hope that General Carleton is going to operate a reconciliation, and with other stories of the same nature.*

In the course of this affair, we have been perfectly satisfied with the French ministry. They have proved candid and moderate. Mr. Jay will write about Spain. Very little is to be said of her, and by her very little is to be done. It appears Holland is going on well, and I believe Mr. Adams

* England proposed secretly to France to make a separate peace on very favourable conditions. M. de Vergennes rejected this proposal (Letter to M. de la Luzerne, the 23rd March); but it was feared in France that the Americans would not refuse the same kind of offer. It was therefore settled that all the allies were to form a treaty at the same time (Letter of 29th April).—A resolution in favour of peace with America had passed through parliament in February. A bill (*enabling act*) authorized the king to treat with the *thirteen provinces*. The basis of the negotiation was to be the acknowledgment of their independence. At the period of Mr. Grenville's coming to Paris, Sir Guy Carleton, commander of the English forces in the Atlantic ocean, appointed, with Admiral Digby, to *a commission of peace*, arrived at New York, opened a correspondence with General Washington (7th May), and made several vain attempts to enter into a communication with congress. He was not listened to as a negotiator, and he found himself, by degrees, reduced to conclude, at a later period, some merely military conventions, which preceded the evacuation of the continent.—(See vol. viii. of the Writings of Washington, *passim*, and Appendix. No. ix.)

is satisfied, except upon the affair of money, which is the difficult point, and goes on very slowly.

By all I can see, I judge that if America insists on a share in the fisheries she will obtain it by the general treaty; this point is too near my heart to permit me not to mention it.

The news of Count de Grasse's defeat has been very much felt in France, and the whole nation was made truly unhappy by this disagreeable event.* The general cry of the people was such, that I do not believe any French admiral will, in any case, take upon himself to surrender his own ship. The people at large have perhaps been too severe, and government have not pronounced, as there is to be a court-martial. But I was happy to see a patriotic spirit diffused through every individual. The states of several provinces, the great cities, and a number of different associations of men, have offered ships of the line to a greater number than have been lost.

* This defeat took place the 12th April, 1782, in that portion of the sea that lies between Guadaloupe, la Dominique, les Saintes, and Marie-Galante. The Count de Grasse, charged with conducting a corps of French troops to Saint Domingo, where a squadron and some Spanish troops were awaiting him, to attempt the conquest of Jamaica, sailed from the Fort-royal of la Martinique. He had sent off his convoy under escort of some of his ships, and his fleet was beyond reach of the enemy, when one of his vessels, the *Zélé*, having struck against another ship, was on the point of foundering. Instead of sacrificing it, after withdrawing the crew, the Count de Grasse thought he ought to bring his twenty-nine ships to its assistance. Admiral Rodney took advantage of this imprudence. He had thirty-six vessels, of which six were three-deckers. After a hard conflict, the Count de Grasse, who was on board the *Ville de Paris*, of a hundred guns, was obliged to lower his flag, and seven of his other ships underwent the same fate. He only surrendered after having lost the greater part of his crew, and was treated in England with every demonstration of respect.

In the meanwhile, government are using the greatest activity, and this has given a spur to the national exertions. But, independent of the stroke in itself, I have been sighing upon the ruin of the plans I had proposed towards a useful co-operation upon the coasts of America. My schemes have been made almost impracticable, and my voyage (the case of negotiations excepted) has not been so serviceable to the public as I had good reasons to expect.

The Spaniards are going, at last, to besiege Gibraltar. Count d'Artois, the King of France's brother, and the Duc de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, are just setting out to serve there as volunteers. They intend to begin in the first days of September, so that we may expect, one way or other, to get rid of that incumbrance; and let the siege succeed or miscarry, we may expect hereafter to make use of the combined forces of the house of Bourbon.

We are waiting for intelligence from the East Indies, where, it appears, we have got a superiority, and are entitled to expect good news from that quarter. The enemy had some despatches by land, but either our operations are of a later date, or they have only published a part of their intelligence.

Paris, June 29th.

Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay will acquaint you with Count de Vergennes' answer to Mr. Grenville, and also with what M. Grenville has said respecting the enabling act. This act, and also the answer to Count de Vergennes, are expected every day in Paris, and the way in which both will be expressed may give us a pretty just idea as to the present intentions of the British ministry. The only thing that remains for me to inform you of is, that under

the pretence of curiosity, admiration, or private affairs, England will probably send emissaries to America, who cannot hope to insinuate themselves under any other but a friendly appearance.

With the greatest regard, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, October 14th, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Since the time of Colonel Gimat's arrival, not a line from you has come to my hands, which misfortune I have much lamented, and I do assure you, my dear general, that when I have not the happiness to be with you, it is necessary for me to receive letters from you.

This will be delivered by General Duportail and Colonel Gouvion, who are returning to America. I wish I could do the same, but you must by this time know that I am kept in this country at the request of the American plenipotentiaries, and with a view to be serviceable to our cause, which with me will ever be the first object. Public intelligence will be given to you by General Duportail. Those of a more secret nature I have communicated to the secretary for foreign affairs, whom I have requested to send the letter to your excellency. You will be able to form your own opinion upon the situation of affairs, but though the forwardness of affairs do not permit me (consistent with the motives I have explained to you) to depart, for the present, from this country, yet it is my private opinion, that a success is necessary before the general treaty can come to a conclusion.

I have requested Colonel Gouvion to tell you,

that it is better not to write about my plans, in case of peace, and lest it should give way to ideas in the West Indies. The last I consider as the only way to help your views, and as we must, if the short road will not do, take the longer one to arrive at the same end, I hope your excellency will approve of the measure. In the former case my former letters have acquainted you what I thought I had better do, which, I hope, will also meet your approbation.

Madame de Lafayette begs her most respectful and affectionate sentiments to be presented to you and to Mrs. Washington. She has borne an infant at seven months, who has recently come to the world at this early period. She proved to be a daughter, and, however delicate, will, I hope, be well brought up. I took the liberty to call her by the name of Virginia.*

Had not Count de Grasse been so unfortunate, my voyage would not have been so unsuccessful. Now I want to find our means, either in peace or war, to retrieve a part of those advantages which I hoped my presence at this court might have produced. M. de Vaudreuil will be of some assistance to the trade. Perhaps he may be able to do something against Penobscot. But unless he had entered the harbour of New York, which, I see, has not been done, nothing can be performed by him upon an important scale.

My next letter, my dear general, will better inform you with respect to myself. Should George have a mind to see the country, I should be extremely happy, and will be as careful of him as of my own son.

* Madame Louis de Lasteyrie.

I beg, my dear general, you will present my best respects to Mrs. Washington, and affectionate compliments to the family. I hope, my dear general, that my conduct, actuated as it is by principles of public and American utility, will receive that approbation from you, which I prefer to that of the rest of the world.

Adieu, my dear general; let me hear from you, and be assured that you can never be so tenderly loved, so highly respected, as by, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, October 24th, 1782.

My dear General,—My last letter has informed you, that in case peace is not made and our plans do not immediately take place at this court, I should think it consistent with my zeal for our cause, and my obedience to your intentions, to take a round-about way to serve our military purposes. Under these circumstances, I have consented to go, this winter, with Count d'Estaing; but though I am to re-enter the French line as a marshal-de-camp from the date of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, I will, however, keep my American uniform, and the outside as well as the inside of an American soldier. I will conduct matters and take commands as an officer borrowed from the United States, as it were, occasionally, and will watch for the happy moment when I may join our beloved colours.

My seeing the West Indies will, I hope, bring about and insure the thing we want, or any other you may wish. In seeing the West Indies I shall

have with me maritime superiority. A vessel will go to America in a fortnight. What I write to you has been given to me under the greatest secrecy, and until I am at liberty to mention it, I beg it may be for you *alone*. When matters are better settled I will be more particular; in the meanwhile, you may prepare your orders to me. As there will be private communications, and they might be sent by two ways, I was thinking officers could be despatched. George wanted to make a voyage. Mr. Henry had the same desire. You know that with me George will be well taken care of. I give those hints beforehand. Your excellency will fully hear from me by the next vessel. I hope the New York expedition may take place about June. What I am doing was the only way.

In a month's time we must know if England be willing to make peace, and if it be not made shortly after the meeting of parliament, it is certain that another campaign becomes necessary. I do not intend to set out before that time.

Colonel Gouvion is not, I suppose, immediately wanted, and I have presumed to think your excellency will not be displeased at my keeping him with me.

My best and most affectionate respects wait upon Mrs. Washington, and my tenderest compliments upon the family and my other friends. Madame de Lafayette joins with me in presenting you and Mrs. Washington with assurances of her love and respect. You know my heart, my dear general, and I need not tell you how respectfully, how affectionately, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO M. DE VERGENNES.

Paris, November 22nd, 1782.

WHEN I quitted America, sir, I was charged with representing her situation in this country; and in the critical state to which she is at present reduced, congress desires me to expose, especially to you, her pecuniary necessities. I have returned in consequence of the leave of absence and instructions given by that congress; and now that, without their permission, without any specified rank in the French army, I am engaging in operations of which the commencement has no relation to their affairs, I must, at least, acquit myself of their commissions, and above all, satisfy my own conscience, by expressing the opinions I am now taking the liberty of submitting to your judgment.

The despatches of congress have arrived, but not those of the Chevalier de la Luzerne. Some mistake may have arisen in the office, or on board the American ship; and should those letters be retarded, it would be unfortunate if that circumstance were to occasion hesitation or delay on our side. You must be too well acquainted with American affairs, sir, to require that last despatch to give you any information on the subject; I have, besides, conversed so often with the king's ministers upon the matter, that I am certain he will advise granting the succour which is considered at this moment so very necessary. The papers Mr. Franklin has confided to your inspection, must contain, I imagine, sufficient information; and if you fear that they give an exaggerated account, I may add that my private letters, my intimate acquaintance with the country,

and the judgment I can form of its actual situation, all conspire, sir, to convince me of the necessity of granting that pecuniary succour.

When we turn our eyes towards America, sir, it is natural for us to attach ourselves peculiarly to that point of view which is most interesting to a Frenchman; it is in this respect alone that I am now examining the disadvantages and dangers attending English influence.

The Americans are tired of war; but the nation at present loves France and detests England. To grant succours at this moment would be a more useful operation, from its placing a seal on all that has hitherto been done, re-awakening courage, and closing completely the mouth of the English emissaries, who are incessantly accusing France of wishing to kindle, without extinguishing, the flame. I do not dwell on these calumnies, sir, and their extreme absurdity must, I trust, prevent their proving injurious; but it may be proper to explain the slight efforts the Americans appear to have made relating to pecuniary matters. There is but little money in the country, and I may safely affirm that the English have left much less there than was at first supposed; and what they have left is entirely with their own party, or has been concealed by the royalists. I may also add that the States, in the present time of confusion, have not been able to take the necessary measures for the imposition and levying of taxes; and that the extent of the country and dispersion of the inhabitants, render it extremely difficult to collect these taxes. It may be proper also to observe the difference between the present taxes and those which were some of the original causes of discontent. In short, sir, the Ame-

ricans may say that their commerce has severely suffered this year; but even supposing that these excuses, although very strong ones, may not be deemed sufficient, it is evident that congress, and all the chiefs of the revolution, are deeply interested in that revolution not failing from want of money. No person can doubt but that they would take every means of procuring supplies, which would not endanger the revolution itself. But since they have not been able to procure any, it becomes, sir, I think, necessary for our glory and the success of the common cause to make one last and generous effort in favour of the Americans. When we compare the money they have asked for with the advances made to our allies during the last war, and, above all, the different degree of interest we have in supporting them, the succours now deemed so indispensable would not appear by any means exorbitant.

The army of M. de Rochambeau is quitting America, and if New York should not be evacuated, this premature step would seem to require some indemnification. Those troops cost thirteen millions, and will take the place of other troops in the islands, where they cannot cost so much. To replace the two regiments that were to have been sent the sum of six millions has been granted; in the present case, could not the money at least be given which the minister of finance must doubtless have prepared for the annual support of that army? I believe, also, that if the war should last, if, above all, it should be prolonged by interests which do not regard the Americans and their allies, it will be judged necessary to afford them, at least, a little aid during the campaign; and ought not that intended succour, joined to the unexpected saving upon the army of

M. de Rochambeau, to fulfil nearly all the hopes America appears to have conceived?

The government may perhaps remember, that the continent is the only point on which we have enjoyed any great success. The cause of this is evidently, that all persons were in our favour and against the enemy. If our forces should fortunately be carried there, we must find an army capable of co-operating with us. No better army than that of the Americans can possibly be found; but if their patience should at length be worn out; if congress should hesitate between the inconvenience of keeping, and the inconvenience of disbanding them; if it should be necessary to take measures to prevent a convulsion instead of conducting an offensive operation, it would not only become impossible to attack the enemy's posts, but it would be even easy for them to dismantle those posts as well as Canada; and that surplus of troops, which they would no longer require, would bear instantly upon our islands.

In a political point of view, it appears to me still more important to succour the Americans. I do not fear their peace with England, and if we do make war, I am convinced we shall obtain great success, and bind still more closely the ties of friendship, by securing the means of operating against the enemy; I do not wish that this last and urgent request should be rejected. The disposition of America towards us at present is most excellent; my only desire is, that it may continue so; not that she would ever forget the duties imposed by our alliance and her own gratitude. But, before I set out, sir, I cannot avoid giving my opinion, which I am now doing from the bottom of my heart; and although I do not flatter myself that it will super-

sede that of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, I should ever reproach myself if I were not to express to you how necessary I think it is to grant an instantaneous succour.

Accept, I beseech you, the assurance, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL—SECRET INTELLIGENCE.)

Brest, December 4th, 1782.

My dear General,—My former letters have acquainted you that, however talkative politicians were about peace, an expedition was fitting out, the command of which is given to Count d'Estaing. I have also added that, upon being requested to go, I have willingly accepted of it, as I thought it the means, the only means in the world, to bring about what you have directed me to obtain. Colonel Gouvion must be with you, and I refer you, my dear General, to the letter I wrote by him, as well as to some notes I write to him, as I have a full cypher with that gentleman. West Indies is the first object; Spain in the way. We have got here nine ships of the line to set out with the first fair wind. Your excellency knows that Count d'Estaing is gone to Spain. We shall have 71 (maritime superiority). Please to prepare propositions and motions about New York, Charlestown, Penobscot, and Newfoundland. One French ship is to be sent to America, and then by your orders to the West Indies. I shall write the next opportunity.

Inclosed, my dear general, I have the honour to

send you the copy of a letter to congress.* I hope you will be able to tell them you are satisfied with my conduct. Indeed, my dear general, it is necessary to my happiness that you think so. When you are absent, I endeavour to do the thing which seems likely to have been advised by you had you been present. I love you too much to be easy one minute unless I thought you approved of my conduct.

Peace is much talked of. I think, *between us*, much of the difficulty must lay with the Spaniards; and yet I do not think the enemy are very sincere. They have been heaping chicanery and finesse upon the affair of limits for America, and so on. It is my opinion that, in the bottom of their hearts, they are determined, if they can, to try what turn the next campaign will give to their affairs; and God grant we may make it a vigorous one, particularly about New York.

I arrived here only yesterday morning. I have much of public business upon my hands; so that, in requesting my best respects to be presented to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to the family, George, and my friends in the army, I will only add the expression of the most tender and grateful respect, I have the honour to be with, my dear general, &c.

* The aim of this letter was to announce to congress the new decision that M. de Lafayette had just taken, and of which he referred the subject to the opinion of Washington.

TO M. DE VERGENNES.

Cadiz, January 1st, 1783.

PEACE, sir, does not at present appear probable, and everything seems to foretel another campaign. It is therefore fortunate that we are assembled here, and that M. d'Estaing should command the whole expedition. You know my feelings and opinions respecting him, and you know, also, the date of my acquaintance with him. He will have charge of the land and sea forces, and I shall fulfil with great pleasure the duty of *maréchal-des-logis*, of the combined army, under his direction.

I have received no private information, sir, and only learn from the public papers the American preliminaries, which appear to me advantageous for the United States; but you must feel how anxious I am to know what has passed between you and the plenipotentiaries. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the present state of affairs to hazard any opinion on the subject; but I am certain you will be satisfied with the conduct of congress. I may again repeat what I have often said, that the American ministers place great value on your communications, and that if we obtained pecuniary succours we might have an important co-operation in that country.

After having conversed on the subject with M. d'Estaing, we agreed that I should express the latter opinion in a letter to Mr. Carmichael, giving him to understand I had no objection to its being made public. I am far from thinking this will be the means of our obtaining money from Spain; but I thought I ought to make this slight and insufficient effort, and if the war continues, it will become

necessary to occupy the enemy by making a diversion in America.

The letters of M. d'Estaing will describe our present situation, and I will only, sir, therefore, add the assurance, &c.

Cadiz, January 1st, 1783.

I HAVE received a letter of the 10th, sir, and beg you to accept the expressions of my gratitude and affection. You will be satisfied, I trust, with congress; the last intelligence appears to me favourable to a general peace; but unless it be actually signed, I hope operations may still continue. This is the best manner of hastening the fulfilment of good, or of counteracting the effects of bad intentions; how is it possible not to mistrust such a man as Lord Shelburne? My best wishes ever attend all your undertakings; and friendship and patriotism both unite in making me earnestly desire their success.

Present my respectful compliments to your family, and accept, &c.

Cadiz, January 1st, 1783.*

THE convoy I had left twenty leagues from hence, has experienced, since I parted from it, a thousand difficulties. It has, at length, arrived with the one from Toulon. All those troops are to unite with the French from Gibraltar, and with more than five thousand Spaniards. Whatever Vaudreuil may say, M. d'Estaing *does* command the land and sea forces;

* M. de Lafayette had copies taken from extracts of letters written by himself in important situations to some female relations, such as Mesdames de Poix, de Tessé, &c. These copies are, as well as this letter, usually without superscription.

I am *maréchal-general-des-logis* of the French and Spanish troops; and although M. de Falkenheim has chosen to remain, I have nothing to do except with M. d'Estaing himself, who ordered the troops to obey my commands, and evinces his usual friendship and confidence towards me.

I will say nothing of Cadiz. Its greatest merit, in my eyes, consists in its being less Spanish than the other towns. Nor will I either interfere with the descriptive rights which those who return from Gibraltar have hitherto enjoyed, and my journal shall be confined to relating events of the other world. I cannot insert in it that I see Count Orelly every day; my principles accord ill with those of the Governor Louisiane. I had intended not to see him; but nothing can be obtained here without him, and the public good requires that I should sacrifice my own reluctance to meet him. If I may judge from the manner in which I am received by the troops, M. de Ségur's fears were unfounded; I find myself extremely well placed in my present situation. I hope our campaign will go on better than the last one, and, above all, I wish that a speedy peace may render all our preparations useless.

Whilst we are undoing here all that has been done, and endeavouring to do something better; whilst we are wearied by numerous, but necessary details, the navy is also busied in making various preparations. We have M. de Lamothe-Piquet. There was another general officer, M. de B——, but I hope to prevail on M. d'Estaing to dismiss him. I shall go on board the *Terrible*, and M. d'Estaing the *Majestueux*. The two vessels are to sail and remain together.

Shall we have peace, my dear cousin, or must we fight before we can come to a proper understanding? My grand affair appears settled, for America is certain of her independence, humanity has gained her cause, and liberty will never be without a place of refuge. May our present success cause a general peace, and France resume her rank and advantages! I shall then be perfectly happy, for I am not yet philosopher enough not to take a very warm private interest in public affairs.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL, AT MADRID.*

(ORIGINAL.)

Cadiz, January 20th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 14th has this day come to hand; the occasion of it I lament, but it becomes my duty to answer it.

From an early period I had the happiness to rank among the foremost in the American Revolution. In the affection and confidence of the people I am proud to say I have a great share. Congress honours me so far as to direct that I am to be consulted by their European ministers, which circumstance I do not mention out of vanity, but only to shew that, in giving my opinon, I am called upon by the dictates of honour and duty, which it becomes me to obey.

* This letter, destined to be opened by the cabinet of Madrid, had been written with this expectation. (Letter to M. R. Livingston, February 5th.)

The measure being right, it is beneath me to wait for a private opportunity. Public concerns have a great weight with me, but nothing upon earth can intimidate me into selfish considerations. To my opinion you are entitled, and I offer it with the freedom of a heart that ever shall be independent.

To France you owe a great deal; to others you owe nothing. As a Frenchman, whose heart is glowing with patriotism, I enjoy the part France has acted, and the connexion she has made. As an American, I acknowledge the obligation, and in that, I think, true dignity consists; but dignity forbade our sending abroad political forlorn hopes, and I ever objected to the condescension; the more so, as a French treaty had secured their allies to you; and because America is more likely to receive advances, than to need throwing herself at other people's feet.

The particulars of the negotiation with Spain I do not dwell upon. In my opinion, they were wrong, but I may be mistaken. Certain it is, that an exchange of ministers ought to have been, and now an exchange of powers must be, upon an equal footing. What England has done is nothing, either as to the right or the mode. The right consisted in the people's will; the mode depends upon a consciousness of American dignity. But if Spain has hitherto declined to acknowledge what the elder branch of the Bourbons thought honourable to declare, yet will it be too strange, that England ranks before her in the date and the benefits of the acknowledgment.

There are more powers than you know of, who are making advances to America; some of them I

ships of the line, and twenty thousand men are now here, with whom Count d'Estaing was to join the combined forces in the West Indies, and during the summer they were to co-operate with our American army. Nay, it had lately been granted that, whilst Count d'Estaing acted elsewhere, I should enter the St. Lawrence River, at the head of a French corps. So far as respects myself, I have no regret; but, independent of personal gratifications, it is known that I was ever bent upon the addition of Canada to the United States.

On the happy prospect of peace I had prepared to go to America; never did an idea please me so much as the hope to rejoice with those to whom I have been a companion in our labours; but, however painful the delay, I now must defer my departure. In the discharge of my duty to America no sacrifice shall ever be wanting, and when it had pleased congress to direct that their ministers should consult with me, it became my first concern to deserve their confidence.

From my letter to Mr. Livingston, an opinion may be formed of our situation in Spain. My advice has been called for, and I have given it. My presence is requested, and instead of sailing for America, I am going to Madrid, being so far on my way; and as Mr. Jay is in Paris, I think it is better for me to go there; but unless congress shall honour me with their commands, I shall embark in the course of June, and am eager for the moment when I may again enjoy the sight of the American shores.

Now, sir, our noble cause has prevailed, our independence is firmly settled, and American virtue enjoys its reward. No exertions, I hope, will now be wanting to strengthen the federal union.

May the states be so bound to each other as for

ever to defy European politics: upon that union, their consequence, their happiness, will depend. This is the first wish of a heart more truly American than words can express.

With the highest respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Cadiz, February 5th, 1783.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Were you but such a man as Julius Cæsar or the King of Prussia, I should almost be sorry for you at the end of the great tragedy, where you are acting such a part. But, with my dear general, I rejoice at the blessings of a peace where our noble ends have been secured. Remember our Valley-Forge times, and from a recollection of past dangers and labours we will be more pleased with our present comfortable situation. What a sense of pride and satisfaction I feel when I think of the times that have determined my engaging in the American cause. As for you, my dear general, who can truly say you have done all this, what must your virtuous and good heart feel on the happy instant where the revolution you have made is now firmly established. I cannot but envy the happiness of my grand-children when they will be about celebrating and worshipping your name, to have had one of their ancestors among your soldiers; to know he had the good fortune to be the friend of your heart, will be the eternal honour in which they shall glory, and to the eldest of them, as long as my posterity may last, I shall delegate the favour you have been pleased to confer upon my son George.

At the prospect of a peace I had prepared to go to America. You know me too well, my dear general, not to be sensible of the pleasure I anticipated in the hope to embrace you, and to be reunited with my fellow-soldiers. Never did anything please me so much as the delightful prospect I had before me, but, on a sudden, I have been obliged to defer my darling plan, and as I have at last been blessed with a letter of yours. I know you approve of my lengthening my furlough upon political accounts. The inclosed copy of my letter to congress, and my official letter to Mr. Livingston, which I request him to communicate to you,* will fully inform you of the reasons that urge me to post off for Madrid. From thence it will be better for me to go to Paris, and in the month of June I will embark for America. Happy, ten times happy shall I be in embracing my dear general, my father, my best friend, whom I love with an affection and a respect which I too well feel not to know that it is impossible for me to express it.

In my letter to congress you will also see that, independent of the plans I have been permitted to propose to you, in the execution of which we were to have an immense naval and land force, it had been at last obtained I should enter Canada. I had my hopes to embrace you at Montreal, or, at least, to be met there by a detachment from the army. The necessity of a diversion was the ground upon which we obtained the King of Spain's consent. But now these schemes are over, we must rejoice in the happiness of those you have rescued from the hands of British tyranny.

* That letter has been suppressed, from its containing the substance of the same account as this letter and the preceding.

Now, my dear general, that you are going to enjoy some ease and quiet, permit me to propose a plan to you which might become highly beneficial to the black part of mankind. Let us unite in purchasing a small estate, where we may try the experiment to free the negroes and use them only as tenants. Such an example as yours shall render it a general practice, and if we succeed in America, I will cheerfully devote a part of my time to render the method fashionable in the West Indies. If it be a wild scheme, I had rather be mad that way than to be thought wise on the other tack.

I am so anxious to hear from you, my dear general, and to let you hear from me, that I have sent my own servant with a vessel, upon whom I have prevailed to set him ashore on the Maryland coast. Before I leave France I hope I shall receive your answer, and I shall be directed where to find you on my arrival; upon that intelligence I depend to regulate my course, and if you are at home I shall steer for the bay of Chesapeak.

Your influence, my dear general, cannot be better employed than in inducing the people of America to strengthen the federal union; it is a task in which it behoves you to be concerned. I look upon it as a necessary measure. Depend upon it, my dear general, European politics will be apt to create divisions among the States; that is the time when the powers of congress must be fixed, the boundaries determined, and articles of confederation revised. It is a work in which every well-wisher to America must desire to be concerned. It is the finishing stroke that is wanting to the perfection of the temple of liberty.

As to the army, my dear general, what will be its fate? I hope their country will be grateful; should

the reverse be the case, I shall, indeed, feel very unhappy. Will part of the army be kept together? If not, we shall not, I hope, forfeit our noble title of officers and soldiers in the American army; so that in case of danger we may be called upon from every quarter, and reunite in the defence of a country which the army has so effectually, so heroically saved. I long to know what measures will be taken; indeed, my dear general, I depend upon your goodness for a very minute letter, not only on public accounts, but also because I want to be acquainted with every one of your private concerns. Adieu, adieu, my dear general. Had the Spaniards got common sense, I could have dispensed with this cursed trip to Madrid, but I am called upon by a sense of my duty to America. I must go, and then defer the happy voyage. My best and most affectionate respects wait upon Mrs. Washington. Now we are going to quarrel, for I must urge your returning with me to France; her accompanying you there is the best way I know of to compromise the matter, and so she will make Madame de Lafayette and myself perfectly happy. I request your excellency will please to present my compliments to Tilghman, George, and all the family. Remember me to all my friends in the army; I am so hurried in sending the vessel away that I must write to them by other opportunities; they know my love to them, and I have a grateful sense of their friendship. Be so kind, my dear general, to remember me to your much respected mother: her happiness I heartily partake of. Adieu once more, my dear general. With every sentiment of love and respect, I am, &c.

Madrid, February 17th, 1783.*

If I were in an enchanted spot, my dear cousin, I should curse every delay that prevented my reaching Paris. We are far from being in the palace of Armida, yet I am obliged to remain here some days longer. I paid my court to the king this morning, and he received me very graciously, in spite of my rebel dress and title. I have seen grandees, who looked very *little*—especially when they were kneeling down—which attitude somewhat shocked, I own, my independent spirit. My departure is still uncertain, my dear cousin; but, if the 15th of March be on a Friday, I hope to do the honours of your supper table. I shall arrive before the hour for loto, which will not, I hope, treat my person as *biribi*† once treated my sword. I travelled from Cadiz with the Abbé Girault, and, as he knew you, I very soon made his acquaintance. A thousand affectionate regards to Sophia. A thousand compliments to M. de Tessé, M. de Mun, the doctor, M. de Meilhan, and the Baron. Present my respects and also my tender regard to the Duke d'Ayen. Adieu, my dear cousin: it is delightful for me to reflect that each step I make draws me nearer to the spot you inhabit.

* See note on the letter of the 1st of January. We believe this letter was addressed to Madame de Tessé, who, as was seen in the preceding volume (letter of 4th October, 1780) M. de Lafayette always called his *cousin*, although she was in reality his aunt.

† A game of hazard.

TO THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

Madrid, February 19, 1783.

SIR,—Having had the honour to confer with your excellency on the subject relative to the United States, and being soon to repair to the American congress, I wish to be fully impressed with the result of our conversations. Instead of the indifference and even of the divisions which another nation would be glad to foresee, I am happy to have it in my power to inform the United States of your good dispositions. It is to you, sir, I am indebted for this advantage, and in order to make it complete and to make myself certain that I forget nothing, give me leave to submit to your excellency the account which I intend to lay before congress.

His Catholic Majesty desires that a lasting confidence and harmony may subsist between him and the United States, and he is determined, on his part, to do everything that will be necessary to keep it up. The American chargé d'affaires is at this moment received as such, and your excellency is going to treat of the interests of the two nations. As you wish to shew Mr. Jay every kind of regard, you only wait till the Count of Aranda shall have notified your dispositions to him before you present Mr. Carmichael to his Majesty.

With respect to the limits, his Catholic Majesty has adopted those that are determined by the preliminaries of the 30th of November, between the United States and the court of London. The fear of raising an object of dissension is the only objection the king has to the free navigation of the River Missisippi. The Virginia tobacco and the naval stores may furnish matters for reciprocal conventions in the treaty, and by means of the productions

of America, arrangements might be useful to her finances. When I had the honour to speak to you in favour of the diminution of the duties on cod-fish, you answered, that it would be necessary to give to France a similar advantage, and that, by virtue of former treaties, the English might set up pretensions to the same; but that you will do, in every respect, all that may be in your power to satisfy America.

I would, with great pleasure, touch upon every detail which may enter into a connexion between Spain and the United States, but I am not to be concerned in this happy work. The ministers of the United States, and the one whom you may send thither, are to make it their business, and I content myself with reminding you of the general ideas you have given me. A word from you will satisfy me that I have not omitted anything. The dispositions of his Catholic Majesty, and the candour of your excellency, will leave no pretexts for misrepresentations. The alliance of the house of Bourbon with the United States is founded on reciprocal interests; it will still acquire greater strength from the confidence which your excellency wishes to establish.

Such, sir, are the conclusions which I have drawn from our conferences, and the account which I intend to give to congress without having any mission for that purpose. I am acquainted with the sentiments of congress, and I am convinced they will set a just value upon your dispositions. In permitting me to acquaint them with these particulars you will have a claim to my personal gratitude. To the assurance of this, I join that of the respect with which I have the honour, &c.

THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.

Pardo, February 22, 1783.

SIR,—I cannot comply better with your desire than by asking your leave to give you here my answer: you have perfectly well understood whatever I have had the honour to communicate to you with respect to our dispositions towards the United States. I shall only add, that although it is his Majesty's intentions to abide, for the present, by the limits established by the treaty of the 30th of November, 1782, between the English and the Americans, yet the king intends to inform himself particularly whether it will be in any respect inconvenient or prejudicial to settle that affair amicably with the United States.

TO THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

Madrid, February 22, 1783.

ON receiving the answer of the Count de Florida Blanca, I desired an explanation respecting the addition that relates to the limits. I was answered, that it was a fixed principle to abide by the limits established by the treaty between the English and the Americans, that his remarks related only to mere unimportant details, which he wished to receive from the Spanish commandants, which would be amicably regulated, and would by no means oppose the general principle. I asked him, before the ambassador of France, whether he would give me his word of honour for it. He answered me he would, and that I might engage it to the United States.

TO MR. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Bordeaux, March 2nd, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—Upon the news of a general peace, I had the honour to write to you, and took the liberty to address congress in a letter, of which the inclosed is a duplicate. Those despatches have been sent by the *Triomphe*, a French vessel, and by her you will also have received a note of the general preliminaries.

The reasons of my going from Cadiz to Madrid being known to you, I shall only inform you, that upon my arrival there, I waited upon the king, and paid a visit to the Count de Florida Blanca. Independent of my letter to M. Carmichael, of which you have a copy, I had very openly said, that I expected to return with him to Paris. So that, after the first compliments, it was easy for me to turn the conversation upon American affairs. I did it with the more advantage, as I had beforehand fully conversed with M. Carmichael, who gave me his opinion upon every point, and I was happy to find that it coincided with mine.

In the course of our conversation, I could see that American independence gives some umbrage to the Spanish ministry. They fear the loss of their colonies, and the success of our revolution appears to be an encouragement to this fear. Upon this subject their king has odd notions, as he has, indeed, upon everything. The reception of M. Carmichael they wanted to procrastinate, and yet they know it must be done. In offering my opinion to the Count de Florida Blanca, I did it in a very free manner. I rejected every idea of delay.

I gave a description of America, and of each of the states, of which Count de Florida Blanca appeared to know very little. While I abated their fears from our quarter, I endeavoured to awaken them upon other accounts. It is useless to mention the particulars of this conversation, which lasted very long, and which he promised to lay before the king. In two days, he said, he should pay me a visit at Madrid.*

Agreeably to the appointment, I waited for Count de Florida Blanca, and there, in presence of the French ambassador, he told me that the king had determined immediately to receive the envoy from the United States. Our conversation was also very long, and I owe Count de Montmorin the credit to say, that not only at that time, but in every instance where he could operate on the Count de Florida Blanca in our favour, he threw in all the weight of the influence of France.

It was on Wednesday that I received Count de Florida Blanca's visit. In conformity with Spanish etiquette, he endeavoured to delay our affairs. I took the liberty to say, that on Saturday I must set out, and it was at last fixed that on Friday M. Carmichael should deliver his credentials, and on Saturday would be invited to the dinner of the foreign ministers.

As to more important matters, I conversed upon the affair of limits, and upon the navigation of the Missisippi, to the last of which points I found him very repugnant. I spoke upon the cod-fish duties. I wanted to have a preference engaged for, in writing, upon all bargains respecting tobacco and naval stores; in a word, I did my best, and would have

* The court was then at Pardo.

been more particular in point of money had not the minister's answer put it out of my power to do it in any other way than such as was inconsistent with the dignity of the United States.

As Count de Florida Blanca was taking leave, I told him that my memory must be somewhat aided. I proposed writing to him, and getting from him an answer. To this he first objected, but afterwards consented, saying, however, that his word was as good as his writing. And as I had been sometimes a little high-toned with him in behalf of America, he added, that Spain was sincere in her desire to form an everlasting friendship, but did not act out of fear. I had before observed, that it was on Spain's account that I wished for a good understanding between her and America.

The reading of my letter, a copy of which I enclose, will better inform you of the points that have been either wholly or partially granted. I endeavoured to make the best of our conversations, and to engage him as far as I could. On the other hand, I kept our side clear of any engagement, which it was easy for me to do in my private capacity. I did not even go so far as general professions. But since I had been called there, I desired only to induce him into concessions that might serve the purposes of Mr. Jay. My letter was delivered on Thursday. The next day I accompanied M. Carmichael, who is much and universally beloved and respected in that country. On Saturday, before dinner, I received the answer, which, for fear of ambiguities, I had requested to be given at the end of the letter. A sentence of the answer I made him explain before the French ambassador. Herein are joined those copies, and I keep the original for Mr. Jay, whose political aide-de-camp I have thus been.

I have of course referred everything to him, and this negotiation, wherein he has exercised the virtue of patience, will now require his care and his abilities. The ministers of some powers, Prussia among them, having asked me if congress would be willing to make an advance towards them, I have answered, that the United States ought, in my opinion, not to make, but to receive advances.

At the same time I was employed in conversation with Count de Florida Blanca, I did not neglect speaking upon the same subject with the other ministers. M. de Galvez, in whose department the Indies are, appears very averse to the English limit. He has, for the present, sent orders to the Spanish governors to abide by those limits, and an official copy of those orders has been promised to me. But M. de Galvez was of opinion that those limits would not do. I have therefore thought it proper, officially, by writing, and before witnesses, to bind them so effectually, that the affair of limits cannot now but be settled on their side. Independent of their hand-writing, France, through her ambassador, is a witness to the engagement; and yet, being in a private capacity, I took care not to engage America to anything.

Never was a man farther from a partiality for Spain than I am. But I think I have now left them in a sincere and steady intention to cultivate the friendship of America. The French party at that court will be for it. They labour under fits of occasional madness. They have an ill-conducted pride. It is disagreeable to treat with them, and their own interest does not persuade them out of their prejudices. But though they had rather there were not such a place as North America, they are truly and earnestly desirous to maintain a good

harmony and live in friendship and neighbourly union with the United States. The Missisippi is the great affair. I think it is the interest of America to be well with Spain, at least for many years; and particularly on account of the French alliance; so that I very much wish success to Mr. Jay's negotiations. I have advised Mr. Carmichael to continue his conferences, and I think they will be of service.

On my arrival at this city, I hear that Lord Shelburne is out of place, and has been succeeded by Lord North. But I cannot give it as certain. The American flag has already made its appearance before the city of London.

Upon the principles of an unbounded zeal for America, can I be permitted to repeat, that every American patriot must wish that the federal union between the states may continue to receive additional strength? Upon that intimate national union their happiness and their consequence depend.

Hoping that my voluntary excursion to Madrid may have somewhat prepared the way to fulfil the intentions of congress, I hasten to join Mr. Jay, whose abilities will improve the account I shall lay before him.

I have the honour to be, with the most affectionate regard, &c.

LAFAYETTE.

TO M. DE VERGENNES.

Paris, March 19th, 1783.

I AM on the point, sir, of setting out for Auvergne, and unless I should receive any commands from you, I shall devote three weeks to this journey. But if I can be of any use to you, be so kind as to

write to me at the Chateau of Chavaniac, by Brioude, and it will give me great pleasure to rejoin you immediately, and thus prove to you my zeal in the public cause, and my private friendship.

The deputies of Bayonne came to see me. They are grateful for the interest you shew for them, but are very uneasy about the plan of campaign concerning the farms and administration. My opinion agrees so completely with your own on this occasion, that it would be useless for me to express it; but, without having any special authority for doing so, I thought that my duty as a citizen was a sufficient plea for writing to M. de Fleury. I enclose you a copy of my letter, and wish you may approve of it. It is impossible to repeat too often that, after a great war and a glorious peace, it would be absurd to lose the fruits of so much blood and gold, and all to please a class of men who please no persons themselves. After having given lessons to England, let us receive some from her at present, and act in such a manner that the Americans may find themselves as well off with their friends as their enemies, and not feel themselves obliged to give preference to the latter.

By diminishing the natural inconveniences of Bayonne, giving also the port of Marseille, and rendering that of Dunkirk as advantageous as possible, I hope, sir, that instead of Port Louis, you will decide for Lorient. The establishment of Port Louis is very small; it offers none of the conveniences of Lorient, and that latter port is very agreeable to the Americans. Respecting the general advantages of commerce, it is very important that a prompt decision should prevent commercial ties being renewed between the United States and England.

Be so kind, sir, as to offer my respectful compliments to the Countess de Vergennes. I presented myself several times at her door, but I had not the good fortune of finding her at home.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Head-quarters, Newburgh, April 5, 1783.

MY DEAR MARQUIS,—It is easier for you to conceive, than for me to express, the sensibility of my heart at the communication of your letter of the 5th of February, from Cadiz.* It is to those communications we are indebted for the only account yet received of a general pacification. My mind, upon the receipt of the news, was instantly assailed by a thousand ideas, all of them contending for pre-eminence; but believe me, my dear friend, none could supplant, or ever will eradicate, that gratitude which has arisen from a lively sense of the conduct of your nation, from my obligations to many illustrious characters of it, among whom, I do not mean to flatter when I place you at the head of them, and from my admiration of the virtues of your august sovereign; who, at the same time that he stands confessed the father of his own people and defender of the American rights, has given the most exalted example of moderation in treating with his enemies.

We now stand an independent people, and have yet to learn political tactics. We are placed among the nations of the earth, and have a character to

* The *Triomphe* brought to Philadelphia, the 23rd of March, the first news of general peace.

establish; but how we shall acquit ourselves, time must discover. The probability is, at least, I fear, that local or state parties will interfere too much with that more liberal and extensive plan of government which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate, and that we shall be guilty of many blunders in treading this boundless theatre, before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art; in a word, that the experience which is purchased at the price of difficulties and distress will alone convince us that the honour, power, and true interest of this country, must be measured by a continental scale, and that every departure therefrom may weaken the union, and ultimately hurt the band which holds us together. To avert these evils, to form a new constitution that will give constancy, stability, and dignity to the union, and sufficient power to the great council of the nation for general purposes, is a duty which is incumbent upon every man who wishes well to his country, and will meet with my aid as far as it can be rendered in the walks of private life.

The armament which was preparing at Cadiz, and in which you were to have acted a distinguished part, would have carried such conditions with it, that it is not to be wondered at that Great Britain should have been impressed with the force of such reasoning. To this cause, I am persuaded the peace is to be ascribed. Your going to Madrid from thence, instead of coming immediately to this country, is another instance, my dear marquis, of your zeal for the American cause, and lays a fresh claim to the gratitude of her sons, who will at all times receive you with open arms. As no official despatches are yet received, either at Philadelphia or New York, concerning the completion of the treaty,

nor any measures taken for the reduction of the army, my detention with it is quite uncertain; whether I may be there at the time of your intended visit is too uncertain even for conjecture. But nothing can be more true, than that the pleasure with which I shall receive you will be equal to your wishes. I shall be better able to determine then than now on the practicability of accompanying you to France; a country to which I shall ever feel a warm affection; and if I do not pay it that tribute of respect which is to be derived from a visit, it may be ascribed, with justice, to any other cause than a want of inclination, or the pleasure of going there under the auspices of your friendship. I have already observed that the determination of congress, if they have come to any, respecting the army, is yet unknown to me. But as you wish to be informed of everything that concerns it, I do, for your satisfaction, transmit authentic documents of some very interesting occurrences which have happened within the last six months.* But I ought first to premise that, from accumulated sufferings, and little or no prospect of relief, the discontents of the officers last fall put on the threatening appearance of a total

* It would be impossible to enter here into the detail of what was then passing in the bosom of the American army, but it may suffice to say, that its extreme sufferings and privations induced the officers to unite and demand redress for their grievances from congress. The resolutions passed in their favour not having satisfied them, they assembled a second time, and their assemblies, as well as manifestoes, were assuming a serious character, when Washington succeeded in bringing them into proper order, by placing himself at the head of the assembled officers, directing their proceedings, and defending their cause before the civil power. See, relating to this singular affair, his letter to Mr. Joseph Jones, and Appendix xi., to vol. viii. of his Letters.

resignation, until the business was diverted into the channel which produced the address and petition to congress, which stand first in the file herewith enclosed. I shall make no comment on those proceedings; to one so well acquainted with the sufferings of the American army as you are, it is unnecessary. It will be sufficient to observe, that the more its virtue and forbearance are tried, the more resplendent it appears. My hope is, that the military exit of this valuable class of the community will exhibit such a proof of *amor patriæ* as will do them honour in the page of history.

These papers, with my last letter, which was intended to go by Colonel Gouvion, containing extensive details of military plans, will convey to you every information; if you should get sleepy and tired of reading them, recollect, for my exculpation, that it is in compliance with your request I have run into such prolixity.

The scheme, my dear marquis, which you propose as a precedent to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country from that state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart. I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work; but will defer going into a detail of the business till I have the pleasure of seeing you. Lord Stirling is no more. He died at Albany, in January last, very much regretted. Colonel Barber was snatched from us about the same time, in a way equally unexpected, sudden, and distressing; leaving many friends to bemoan his fate.*

* Lord Stirling had died, after a short illness, the 14th of January. Colonel Barber had been killed at the camp by the fall of a tree.

Tilghman is on the point of matrimony, with a namesake and cousin, sister to Mrs. Carroll, of Baltimore. It only remains for me now, my dear marquis, to make a tender of my respectful compliments to Madame de Lafayette, and to wish you, her, and your little offspring, all the happiness that life can afford. I will extend my compliments to the gentlemen in your circle with whom I have the honour of an acquaintance. I need not add, how happy I shall be to see you in America, and more particularly at Mount Vernon, or with what truth and warmth of affection, I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(ORIGINAL.)

Chavaniac, in the Province of Auvergne,
July 20th, 1783.

Sir,—Having been for some days in the country, where I am waiting for the arrival of the *Triomphe*, I am honoured with your excellency's favour of the 12th of April, which I hasten to acknowledge. It is for me, a great happiness to think that congress have been pleased to approve of my conduct, and that an early intelligence has proved useful to our American trade. To my great satisfaction I also hear, that my endeavours in Spain have been agreeable to congress. Upon my arrival in Paris I made Mr. Jay acquainted with my proceedings. The concessions I had obtained from the Spanish court, (without any on our part,) were also put into his hands, since which I could have no more to do in the negotiations wherein I had taken the part of a temporary volunteer.

However repeated may have been the marks of confidence which congress have conferred upon me, they ever fill my heart with a new satisfaction. What you have mentioned respecting payment of debts, will, of course, become my first and most interesting object. I have warmly applied to the French ministry, and will, on that point, solicit the confidence of the gentlemen in the American commission. But upon hearing of an opportunity, I could not an instant defer to acknowledge your excellency's letter. Agreeably to the last despatches, I am waiting for the orders which I hope to receive by the *Triomphe*. Any commands which congress may have for me shall be cheerfully executed by one of their earliest soldiers, whose happiness it is to think, that at less smiling moments he had the honour to be adopted by America, and whose blood, exertions, and affections, will, in her good times, as they have been in her worst, be entirely at her service.

It appears Russia is determined upon a Turkish war, and should they give it up now, the matter would only be postponed. What part the Emperor is to take we cannot at present so well determine. Whenever the way is opened to me, I endeavour to do that which may prove agreeable to congress, and intend to keep them acquainted with political occurrences. It is a pleasing idea for me now to think, that nothing can derange our glorious state of liberty and independence; nothing, I say, for I hope measures will be taken to consolidate the federal union, and by those means to defeat European arts, and insure eternal tranquillity.

With the highest respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

LAFAYETTE.

P.S. Congress have no doubt received accurate accounts respecting the affair of free ports. On my arrival from Spain, I found that Bayonne and Dunkirk had been pitched upon, and I immediately applied for Lorient and Marseilles. Lorient is by far the most convenient on the coast, and we have now got it. That being done, I am again applying for Bayonne, which has some advantages, and I wish congress would send orders to M. Barclay in the meanwhile; the more free ports we have the better. This affair of free ports, the subjects which congress have recommended, and the despatches I am directed to expect by the *Triomphe*, will determine the time when, having no more American business here, I may indulge my ardent desire to return to the beloved shores of America.

LAFAYETTE.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Chavaniac, province of Auvergne, July 22, 1783.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Your letter of the 11th of May is the last that came into my hands, for which I beg leave to offer you my best thanks, and in case former answers do not arrive, I must again tell you how happy you have made your friend by your letter, including the proceedings of the army. In every instance, my dear general, I have the satisfaction to love and admire you; the conduct you displayed on that occasion was highly praised throughout Europe, and your return to a private station is called the finishing stroke of an unparalleled character.

Never did a man exist who stands so honourably in the opinion of mankind, and your name, if possible, will become still greater to posterity; everything that is great, and everything that is good, were never hitherto united in one man: never did that man live, whom the soldier, statesman, patriot and philosopher, could equally admire; and never was a revolution brought about, which, in its motives, its conduct, and its consequences, could so well immortalize its glorious chief. I am proud of you, my dear general; your glory makes me feel as if it were my own, and while the world is gaping on you, I am pleased to think and to tell that the qualities of your heart do render you still more valuable than anything you have done.*

Since my last, my dear general, I have received letters from congress, wherein I am directed to a particular business respecting the payment of debts to Great Britain. I have immediately applied to Count de Vergennes, and will endeavour, if not too late, to succeed in this important affair. I have also written to our American minister, and upon that point have solicited their confidence: had they spoken to me at the time of the separate preliminaries, the matter would have been arranged to our mutual satisfaction; it often happens people do not

* In the month of June, congress gave dismissals to all the soldiers engaged in the war. At the period of the disbanding of the army, Washington addressed a circular to the governments of all the States (8th of June): amongst the four things which he recommended to his country, one was, a good military establishment in times of peace. Until that establishment could be organised, the men who remained under arms were encamped in the neighbourhood of West Point, and Washington himself retained the command.—(Extract from his manuscript letters of the 15th of June).

understand each other, and should they be brought to right again, they would hardly be able to find out a cause of complaint; it is sometimes the case, and some of the commission have many prejudices, but it would be improper for me to give more than private hints. My heart is so open to you that from you it is impossible for me to conceal any thought. Nothing new in Europe but what relates to the Russians and Turks: the first have invaded the Crimea; preparations are making upon the Black Sea, and Russian ships are coming round to the Mediterranean: the explusion of the Turks from Europe has ever been to Russia a favourite scheme. It appears very improbable to me, that we may compromise matters, in which case an attempt at that revolution would only be deferred: what part the emperor will take is yet very uncertain, nor is it known what Prussia will do about it; England is, to be sure, determined to be neutral, and has not much to do with the Levant trade; as to France, she does not wish to quarrel with anybody; her desire is to prevent a Russian war, and it appears she will not do more than what is absolutely necessary. Such, my dear general, is my private opinion of political affairs in Europe. It has been said that M. de Castries will resign, but now, for certain, he remains in the ministry. There have been new disturbances in the British cabinet: the definitive treaty is not yet at an end; its termination, the affair recommended to me, the arrival of the *Triomphe*, and our political situation, will determine the happy time when I may sail for America. In the course of a fortnight, my dear general, I hope to be able to write you very fully; but hearing of an opportunity I could not let it pass unnoticed. God grant I may, instead of writing, be able to come myself. Adieu, my dear

general; Madame de Lafayette joins with me in presenting her best respects to Mrs. Washington: she loves you with all her heart. My affectionate compliments wait upon the family, George, and all our friends. Adieu, adieu, my dear general; remember often your adopted son, who, with every sentiment of the highest respect and warmest affection, has the honour to be, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, December 26th, 1783.

SIR,—Having received no commands from congress by the last packet, I must, however, trespass upon their time, to give them a few hints respecting American commerce. I have, of course, directed them to Mr. Morris, and although Dr. Franklin (the other ministers being in England) will give you political intelligence, I cannot help adding, that by a refined piece of cunning, the King of England has got Mr. Fox out of the ministry. After having entangled him by a success in the house of commons, he found means to stop him short in the house of lords; in consequence of which Mr. Fox has been dismissed, Mr. Pitt and the last of the Temples called in, and the new administration (Lord North being also out) necessitates the calling of a new parliament.

Affairs between Russia and the Ottoman empire are still negotiating, and although, in my opinion, a war cannot be much longer deferred in that quarter, there is no probability of its taking place so soon as next summer: the emperor is in Italy,

upon which some say he has also got an eye, and there he will meet with the King of Sweden. There is no change in the French ministry since M. de Calonne has succeeded to M. d'Ormesson, and Baron de Breteuil to M. Amelot, both of whom are more sensible than their predecessors.

Unless I have some commands from congress to execute in Europe, I shall, in the spring, embark for America, and present them with the personal homage of one whose happiness is to feel himself for ever a zealous member in the service of the United States.

With the utmost regard and affectionate attachment, I have the honour to be, &c.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

(ORIGINAL.)

Mount Vernon, February 1st, 1784.

At length, my dear marquis, I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, and under the shadow of my own vine and fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life. I am pleasing myself with those tranquil enjoyments of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame; the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all; and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile; can have very little conception. I am not only retired from all public employments, but I

am retiring within myself. I shall be able to resume the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction: envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all, and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers.

Except an introductory letter or two, and one countermanding my request respecting plate, I have not written to you since the middle of October by General Duportail. It would be very uninteresting to any but myself, to inform you, at this late hour, that the city of New York was evacuated by the British forces on the 25th of November; that the American troops took possession of it the same day, and delivered it over to the civil authority of the state; that good order, contrary to the expectations and predictions of General Carleton, his officers, and all the loyalists, was immediately established; and that the harbour of New York was finally cleared of the British flag about the 5th and 6th of December, would be an insult to your intelligence; and to tell you that I remained eight days in New York after we took possession of the city; that I was hurried during that time, the reason that I did not write you from thence; that taking Philadelphia in my way, I was obliged to remain there a week; that at Annapolis, where congress were, and are now, sitting, I did, on the 23rd of December, present them my commission, and make them my last bow*, and on the eve of Christmas entered these doors an older man by near nine

* The 23rd of December, Washington was received by congress, and resigned his commission in the hands of that assembly. He had before had the honour of being received by it the 26th of August, at Princetown.—(Letter VIII. app. 13.)

years than when I left them. Since that period we have been fast locked up in frost and snow, and excluded, in a manner, from all kinds of intercourse, the winter having been, and still continues to be, extremely severe.

I have now to acknowledge and thank you for your favours of the 22nd of July and 8th of September;* both of which, although the first is of old date, have come to hand since my letter to you of October. The accounts contained therein of the political and commercial state of affairs, as they respect America, are interesting, and I wish that I could add that they were altogether satisfactory. The agency you have had in both, particularly with regard to the free ports of France, is a fresh instance of your unwearied endeavours to serve this country. But there is no part of your letters to congress, my dear marquis, which bespeaks the excellency of your heart more plainly than that which contains those noble and generous sentiments on the justice which is due to the faithful friends and servants of the public; but I must do congress the justice to declare that, as a body, I believe there is every disposition in them not only to acknowledge the merits, but to reward the services, of the army; there is a contractedness, I am sorry to add, in some of the states, from whence all our difficulties, on this head, proceed. But it is to be hoped the good sense and perseverance of the rest will ultimately prevail, as the spirit of *meanness* is beginning to subside. From a letter I have just received from the governor of the state, I expect him here in a

* The letters of the 8th of September, written from Nancy, contained information which has been repeated in the letters we have published.

few days, when I shall not be unmindful of what you have written about the bust.* I will endeavour to have matters respecting it placed on their proper basis. I thank you most sincerely, my dear marquis, for your kind invitation to your house if I should come to Paris; at present, I see but little prospect of such a voyage: the deranged situation of my private affairs during these few years, will not only oblige me to suspend, but perhaps for ever hinder me from gratifying this wish. This not being the case with you, come, with Madame Lafayette, and view me in my domestic walks. I have often told you, and I repeat it again, that no man could receive you in them with more friendship and affection than I should do, in which I am sure Mrs. Washington would cordially join me. We unite in respectful compliments to your lady, and best wishes to the little flock.

With every sentiment of esteem, admiration, and love, I am, &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

SIR,—On the receipt of your excellency's letter, I took measures to fulfil the intentions of the society, of which I have the honour to be a member.†

As our institution was differently interpreted, I

* The bust of M. de Lafayette which had been awarded by the State of Virginia.

† The Society of Cincinnatus. The 16th of December, M. de Lafayette had written to M. de Vergennes to obtain for the officers of the French army who had received the order of Cincinnatus the permission of wearing it.

wrote a letter to Count de Vergennes, of which the inclosed is a copy, and the account I gave was printed in a court gazette, which I have also the honour to send. At a king's council, this day week, it has been decided that Count de Rochambeau, his generals and colonels, and also the admirals, should be permitted to wear the order, and a very proper letter on the subject has been written by Marshal de Ségur to Count de Rochambeau.

As to our American officers, I shall examine into the claims of every one; when the point is clear, deliver or refuse the order, and in doubtful cases, take the advice of a board of American officers, members of the society.

No foreign badge, but the golden fleece, is permitted to Frenchmen in this service. From the distinction shewn to our society, and the testimony it bears of having acted a part in this war, our badge is highly valued, and warmly contended for, by all those who hope they have some claim to it. The nation has been very much pleased with the attention our society has paid to the alliance, and have found there is something very interesting in that brotherly association.

Major Lenfant* is employed in the execution of your orders. A good number of eagles will be made in twelve days, when I intend to call for the few American officers now here, and together to wait upon the generals and admirals of the French army with the marks of the order.

* A French officer in the American service.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, March 9th, 1784.

My dear General,—Had I not so perfect a confidence in your friendship, I should very much fear to tire you with my scribble of this day, but cannot leave my pen before I have again mentioned my tender respectful affection to my dear general. I want to tell you that Madame de Lafayette and my three children are well, and that all of us in the family heartily join to present their dutiful affectionate compliments to Mrs. Washington and yourself. Tell her, that I hope soon to thank her for a dish of tea at Mount Vernon. Yes, my dear general, before the month of June is over, you will see a vessel coming up the Potomac, and out of that vessel will your friend jump, with a panting heart, and all the feelings of perfect happiness. I intended to have gone sooner, but a few commercial matters still keep me here; for since nobody meddles with them, I have undertaken, in my private capacity, to do what is possible for one who has neither title nor instruction. It is, at least, a comfort, that in my private capacity I cannot commit congress, and that I never speak of that but what I know. Four ports have been declared free: I send Mr. Morris a letter respecting the duties to be paid there; and I hope congress will also publish that all duties have been removed from the exportation of brandies.

Most of the Americans here are violent against our association. Wadsworth must be excepted, and Doctor Franklin said little. But Jay, Adams, and all the others, warmly blame the army. You easily guess I am not remiss in opposing them; and, how-

ever, if it be found that the hereditary right endangers the true principles of democracy, I am as ready as any man to renounce it. You will be my compass, my dear general, because, at this distance, I cannot judge. In case you find, upon better consideration, that hereditary right will injure our democratic constitutions, I will join with you by proxy in voting against it. If you think hereditary right is a proper scheme, I shall be convinced that your patriotism has considered the matter in the best point of view. *To you alone* I would say so much, and I abide by your opinion in the matter. Let the foregoing be confidential, but I am sure your disinterested virtue will weigh all possible future consequences of hereditary distinctions.*

There is no news at this moment that is worth relating. What respects balloons, M. Lenfant will tell.† The present English disputes are somewhat ridiculous. They must end in a dissolution of parliament, or an union between Pitt and Fox. Adieu, my dear general; accept, with your usual goodness, the affectionate tribute of a heart so entirely devoted to you that no words can ever express the respect, the love, and all the sentiments with which you know it is glowing for you, and that make me, until my last breath, &c.

* That same year, 1784, in the month of May, a general assembly of the members of the Society of Cincinnatus was held in Philadelphia. In accordance with the advice of Washington, their president, they renounced all hereditary rights.

† The discovery of aërostation, by Montgolfier, was at that time recent.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, March 9th, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Although I write you another private letter, I must confidentially let you know my opinion upon matters relative to our society.

The captains in the navy have been much mortified to be left out of the institution. They rank as colonels, they have rendered great services, and, it is expected here, they will be admitted into the society. Some of them came with Count d'Estaing, among whom are Suffren, d'Albert, de Rioms, and some other great characters. The remainder went under Ternay, Destouches, and Grasse. A few have been sent to carry great news, such as the treaty, or have actually commanded in chief, such as Lapeyrouse, Latouche, &c. I know they are many, but how can a partial distinction be made? And as they will have much to do with American vessels, in preventing contraband trade, I suppose, or in receiving American ships into French harbours, I think it will be impolitic not to put them in a good humour. In the opinion I give, I oppose my own interests, for the fewer members there may be in the society the more will it be valued. But I see a substantial public motive to be determined upon, and as the *capitaines de vaisseaux* are dispersed throughout the harbours, they will not so much crowd as land officers, because they very seldom come to the capital. M. d'Albert, de Rioms, Latouche, Lapeyrouse, Tilly, cannot but have it, and, I think, it could be general.

As to the land officers, many claims have been raised; some of them, I think, deserve considera-

tion. M. de Lestrade, M. de Menonville, such, in a word, as particular reasons may be assigned for, ought to be included; *above all, the Chevalier de Lameth,** who has been so cruelly wounded in the redoubt; who was an aide-de-camp, and two months after was a colonel. I think we must avoid giving grounds of complaint. Inclosed is a letter respecting Count Edward Dillon, who was going to Savannah when wounded in the engagement at sea, and was then a colonel. You will also find a note from M. de St. Simon respecting his brother. Menonville was his adjutant-general, and in that office they have the honours of brigadier paid to them when majors in the tranchées. M. de Corny † has applied to me, and I could not give him the badge. I promised him I would mention his wishes, and send you his petition. His claims are set up in the capacity of an American officer.

In the resolutions of our committee, you will find a mention made of General Conway, which I am going to explain. I do not say that I have merit; but I say, I have its consequences—viz., enemies. My popularity is great throughout the kingdom, and in this city; but among the great folks I have a large party against me, because they are jealous of my reputation: in a word, the pit, to a man, is for me, and in the boxes there is a division. A plot was laid to draw me into a snare, and a Madame Conway was made a tool of to give me and yourself the air of an implacable revenge against that man

* M. Charles de Lameth, member of the constituent assembly, died in Paris the 29th December, 1832.

† M. Ethys de Corny had filled the place of commissary of war in the army of the Count de Rochambeau. He obtained the order of Cincinnatus.

who is considered here as having been abandoned and ruined by me in America.

The French officers have offered money. I had rather it was not accepted; but at such a distance I cannot judge what is the best to be done. The formation of a committee in Europe is very necessary, but it must, for obvious reasons, be quite separated from any society the French officers may form, as it is calculated only for American purposes, and ought to consist of but American officers for the time being in Europe.

After proper allowances have been made, both for the naval officers and particular cases, I will beg leave to represent that the members ought not to be too much multiplied. If a greater facility takes place, the institution will sink in proportion as it is bestowed upon too many people, and our officers must be upon their guard not to give the badge without proper motives.

I have been requested to present you with a new model and ribbon; and from the persons that gave it, could not refuse sending it to America. I need not say this letter is confidential.

With the highest respect and tenderest affection, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, May 14th, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—To my great satisfaction my departure is fixed upon for the 10th of next month, when I intend to leave Paris, and immediately to embark for America. My course will be straight

to Potomac, and I do most feelingly anticipate the pleasure of our meeting at Mount Vernon. There is nothing new in France, but that the affair of the free ports is quite settled, and that nothing yet has been done respecting the intended regulations for commerce between America and the West Indies. Government are very friendly to the interest of the United States, but labour under many difficulties; the strongest of all is the complaints of flour merchants, manufacturers, and raisers in the country round Bordeaux. There has been a pretension set up at Vienna by the Empress of Russia, for a pre-eminence of her ambassador over ours, which is foolish and groundless, and from which she must certainly desist. Some Portuguese disputes respecting a settlement in Africa have been decided to the satisfaction of France. Mr. Pitt's party will be the stronger in the new parliament. But Charles Fox comes in as a member for Westminster, and will head an opposition. The situation of Ireland is critical; the lord lieutenant's conduct has been foolish, and some of the resolutions of the people are very spirited. A German doctor, called *Mesmer*, having made the greatest discovery upon *animal magnetism*, he has instructed scholars, among whom your humble servant is called one of the most enthusiastic. I know as much as any conjuror ever did, which reminds me of our old friend's at Fishkill interview with the devil, that made us laugh so much, at his house, and before I go, I will get leave to let you into the secret of Mesmer, which, you may depend upon, is a grand philosophical discovery.

Mr. Jay is gone this morning to Dover, where he intends embarking for America. He has taken care of a family picture, including Madame de Lafayette,

our children and myself, which I beg leave to present to my dear general, as the likenesses of those who are most affectionately devoted to him.

The whole family join with me in the most respectful compliments to you and Mrs. Washington. Be so kind, my dear general, to remember me to the other inhabitants of Mount Vernon, and to all friends that you may happen to see. Adieu, my dear general; be pleased, with your usual kindness, to receive the tender wishes of one who, more than any man existing, may boast of being, &c.

VOYAGE TO THE UNITED STATES.

1784.*

THE political career of General Lafayette has been characterized by actions rather than words. "*He is the most dangerous of our antagonists,*" said the Archbishop of Sens, in the king's council, "*because his politics are altogether in action.*" We may add that, with the exception of his declaration of rights, and some sentences pronounced at important political periods, the discourses of Lafayette hold but a secondary place in his life; we may also assert that his best speeches were *improvised*, often with great effect, during the tumult of great popular move-

* We possess but few memorials of this voyage to the United States, which bore so many points of resemblance to the one he undertook forty years afterwards. In the numerous assemblies at which M. de Lafayette was present, before all the deputations who complimented him, he was often obliged to deliver speeches, which have not been preserved. He formed, however, a collection of some of them. We publish the most interesting, which form the first part of a collection undertaken under his inspection in 1829, and entitled, *A Collection of several Speeches of General Lafayette, from the year* 1784 *to the year* 1829. The reflections that are now offered to the reader serve as an introduction to that collection, and, with the explanations mingled with the text of the speeches, were dictated by the general seven years ago.

ments, when no person had leisure to collect them. We shall, nevertheless, place in this work a portion of those speeches which may be found in the pamphlets and papers of that day, because, retracing some of the circumstances of the periods in which they were delivered, they offer materials for memoirs of the times; and also because, having no pretension to fine writing, and aiming only at expressing common sense in the simplest style, they bear the stamp of that modern school of public rights, created in the United States, transplanted, afterwards, to Europe, which Lafayette called the American era. It was, in truth, from the date of that fruitful revolution, of that war of principles, that the system of those institutions sprung, which, soaring above the aristocratical privileges and royal concessions that were formerly regarded as constitutional liberty, boldly founded its doctrines in a frank examination of the natural rights of man, the unprescribable rights of society, the sovereignty of the nation, and civil equality; of which the application, so happily made in the United States, and so unfortunately violated during the storms of the French revolution, pointed out to all nations a new epoch, under the hitherto unknown denomination of *self-government.*

Some school-boy amplifications of the young Lafayette have been preserved, but we shall refrain from transcribing them. We should still less find materials for this collection in the trifling amusements of the court and town, even if we possessed the speeches pronounced in that circle of a dozen young men, in which the princes, since become Louis XVIII. and Charles X., took part, and whose childish, though serious, discussions, M. de Ségur has revealed to us in his very interesting memoirs.

From the period in which Lafayette, at nineteen years of age, devoted himself to the American cause, his part was to act, combat, and negotiate. We must rather, therefore, quote from letters than speeches; but still the revolution necessarily occasioned some civil and military orations, such as those that took place at the assembly of the six Indian nations, which he convoked in the winter of 1777 and 1778, during his command in the north. But our first documents only commence at the period of his visit to the United States, after the peace, in 1784.

It is only after the war of independence, and on the 4th August of that year, when Lafayette landed at New York, from France,* that we find a few of his speeches as they were translated and published by a writer of that day.† The letter in which this visit of Lafayette to the United States is described, is dated from New York, June, 1785; the speeches that the *American cultivator* has preserved have been translated into some recent newspapers.

In that work may be also seen the answers of Lafayette to the address of the legislative body of Pennsylvania, spoken by a committee composed of a deputy of each county; the address of the legislative assembly of Rhode Island; that of the officers of the Massachusets line; and of the chamber of delegates of Virginia, Williamsburg, Marble Head, &c. In that latter town he observed that the

* He arrived in the packet, the *Courier of Europe*, with the Chevalier de Caraman, who accompanied him during his journey in America. He made some excursions, also, in company with M. de Grandchain, commander of the frigate the *Nymph*, who brought him back to Europe.

† Letters from an American Cultivator, by St. John de Crèvecœur, (Paris, 1787, vol. iii.)

women had assembled in greater numbers than the men, and he was told they were the widows of those who had fallen in the war; and the mothers of the children for whose liberty he had fought. "They wished to-day," was added, "to replace their husbands, with most of whom you have been personally acquainted." And it was inserted, in reality, in a Salem gazette of the 7th November, 1784, that by the last census made by government, the town of Marble Head had lost half of its inhabitants capable of bearing arms.

We have not the speeches of the assembly of the six Indian nations at the council held by Lafayette, during the winters of 1777 and 1778. Some of those that were delivered in a previous assembly in 1784, in which the friendly tribes and those who had fought for the English met together, have been preserved.* The meeting was opened by one of the members of congress, commissaries of the United States.† Lafayette then rose, and said:—

* This assembly took place at the beginning of October. It was during his journey to Albany, that M. de Lafayette was requested to repair to Fort Schuyler, to be present at a treaty with the Indians. "I have not quitted M. de Marbois," he wrote, on the 12th October, to the Count de Vergennes; "he will speak to you of the treaty with the savages, at which we have both been present, and in which it was thought I could be of some use. It is impossible not to rejoice at the attachment those nations have retained for us. They like our manufactures, and may offer us, if we take a little trouble to secure it, a small branch of commerce." This conference with the Indians was not without some political importance. They were apparently under the influence of English intrigues. We have a letter in our hands in which M. de Lafayette complains of the manœuvres of the *savage Tories*.—(Letters to Washington, the 8th October, and to Jay, the 25th November.)

† Each paragraph of these speeches was translated and repeated by the interpreter.—(Note of M. de Lafayette.)

"When I draw near my children, I return thanks to the Great Spirit who has conducted me to this place, in which I find them assembled around this new fire, smoking together the calumet of peace and friendship. If you recollect the voice of Kayewla, remember also his counsels, and the necklaces he has so often sent you. I am now come to thank my faithful children, the chiefs of the nations, the warriors, for the hearing of my former words; and if the memory of a father did not sooner forget evil than good, I might punish those who, opening their ears, have closed their hearts, and who, blindly lifting up the axe, exposed themselves to the risk of striking their own father.

"The American cause is just, I formerly said to you, and it is your own cause also. Remain at least neuter, and the brave Americans will defend their liberty; your fathers will take them by the hand; the white birds will come and cover the shores of this great island; Ononthio, like the sun, will disperse the clouds that surround you, and the projects of his foes will vanish like a falling mist.*

"Listen not to Kayewla, will be said to you by others. One army in the north will enter Boston in triumph; another in the south will take Virginia; the great war-chief, Washington, at the head of your fathers and brothers, will be forced to quit the country. Those who thus close your eyes with their hands, have forgotten, however, to open their own eyes. Peace is made; you know yourselves

* Some expressions require to be explained. *Ononthio*, signifies the King of France; *your fathers*, the French; *your brothers*, the Americans; *the men of the dawning day*, the Europeans, &c. *Kayewla* is the name by which the savages designate M. de Lafayette.

its conditions, which, from compassion to some amongst you, I shall refrain from repeating.

"My predictions have been accomplished, and now listen to the new counsels of Kayewla, and let my voice re-echo amongst all the nations, like that of the salubrious summer wind, which ever precedes and announces rain. What have ye gained my children? What have ye not lost, on the contrary, in the quarrels of *the people of the dawning day?* Be wiser than the whites; retain peace amongst yourselves; and, since the great council of the United States will form a treaty with ye, take advantage of its kindness. Forget not that your brothers are the friends of the children of the great Ononthio; this alliance will be both a durable and happy one. He has taken them by the hand; they now offer ye their hand, which ye should accept, and we shall form together a durable and brilliant chain. To secure this good, trade with the Americans, and with those of your fathers who have crossed the great lake. Ye know of old their manufactures, which will become to you the seal of the new alliance. When ye sell your lands, consult not a barrel of spirits ere ye deliver them; but let the chiefs amongst your brothers and your *sachems* assemble around the same fire, and form together a reasonable treaty. At the present moment, ye know that if some amongst ye have a right to the gratitude of the congress, there are several others whose past errors require some reparation.

"If ye have opened well your ears, and heard well my words, I have said enough. Repeat my counsels to each other, whilst I, from the opposite side of the great lake, shall have pleasure in hearing of your welfare, Until the day when we shall

again smoke together, and sleep together, under the same bark, I wish ye all good health, successful hunts, abundance, peace, and the fulfilment of those dreams which promise ye felicity."

The Ocksicanehiou, chief of the Mohawks, rose, and said—

"Let the ears of Kayewla, the war chief of the great Ononthio, be opened to receive our words! My. father, we have listened to thy voice, and we rejoice that thou hast visited thy children to give them just and necessary counsels. Thou hast told us we did wrong to open our ears to the wicked ones, and to close our hearts to thy counsels. That is true, my father. We, the nation of Mohawks, had departed from the good road; we acknowledge we have been deceived and enveloped in a black cloud; we return, at present, that thou mayest find in us good and faithful children.

"We love, in truth, my father, to hear thy voice amongst us; it does us good, and never wounds our hearts. It seems as if the Great Spirit had directed thy steps to this place of peace and council that thou mayest smoke the calumet of friendship and good intelligence with thy recovered children. My father, as to our present situation, thou hast said the truth; but we hope that Kitchy-Manitou, who has protected us until now, will conduct us in this new path; that our past faults will be forgotten, and that we shall all be united like brothers. Kayewla, my father, we feel that thy words are those of truth; experience hath shewn us that thy predictions have been accomplished. Thy speech inspires a spirit of peace; our object, and the aim that led us hither, is to promote peace. It is an ancient law, that children must obey their fathers; that he hath the right to reprove them and punish

them when they commit faults. We have deserved his reproofs and punishments, but we hope that the Spirit on high will purify our hearts in such a manner that thou wilt congratulate thyself with having, in thy goodness, restored to thy children the life they have deserved to lose. My father, thou hast warned us, when we sell our lands, not to take counsel from strong liquors; we much need that salutary advice, for it is from thence arises all our miseries and misfortunes, and we only hope that no follies may disgrace us, even during this great council of peace. My father, we recollect the words thou hast spoken and sent to us about seven years ago; not one of those words hath not been verified. Yes, my father, we see that all thou hast said unto us is true; that the alliance between America and France will be an indissoluble chain, and those who doubt this may cross the great lake and see with their own eyes. My father, the words that thou hast pronounced to-day shall be published amongst the six nations. They will fortify the chain of friendship that we desire to see endure for ever. As we wish not to multiply words, we will take part in the great council of the United States, of whom we congratulate the members. If we should have anything further to add, we will communicate it to thee to-morrow under thy *wigwam.*" *

The next day, the Grasshopper, orator of the friendly nations, pronounced the following speech:—

"Kayewla, my father, I pray all the nations here present to open their ears; and thou, great war-chief of our ancient father Ononthio, I pray thee to listen to me. Thy speech of yesterday contains

* Habitation.

congratulations, reproaches, and counsels; and we receive these with greater pleasure from recollecting thy words seven years ago. Those words prevented us from going astray. Thou seest this necklace; (giving him, as he spoke, the one he had received from M. de Montcalm;) it was given us twenty years ago by our fathers, who told us that each was to hold one end of it, and that one day their voices would be again heard amongst us. Kayewla, my father, all thy former words have been verified by the events passing on this great island, and we receive with pleasure those words thou hast now spoken unto us."

When he restored the necklace to the chief, Lafayette said he rejoiced at seeing that that necklace had been so well preserved, and at thinking that his influence over some nations had prevented their declaring against the United States; that France would ever hold one end of the necklace; that America would likewise grasp it. He thanked them for their fidelity in following his counsels.

The speech of a chief of the Senecas who is still living, and well known in America under the English name of Red-Jacket, has not been preserved; but we thought proper to copy the preceding speeches to give some idea of Indian rhetoric.

RECEPTION BY A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.*

CONGRESS, informed of the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette, as well as of his speedy departure, resolved, "That a committee, to consist of one member from each state, be appointed to receive the marquis, and, in the name of congress, to take

* Extract from some of the papers of congress, when it assembled at Trenton, New Jersey, in December.

leave of him. That they be instructed to assure him that congress continues to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they have frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions, and which the recent marks of his attention to their commercial and other interests have perfectly confirmed. That, as his uniform and unceasing attachment to this country has resembled that of a patriotic citizen, the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honour and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him." *

Congress charged Lafayette, also, with a letter for his Majesty, in which the United States expressed their sentiments towards him. The journals of congress, when describing that affecting ceremony, give, likewise, the following answer from the marquis :—

(ORIGINAL.)

"WHILE it pleases the United States, in congress, so kindly to receive me, I want words to express the feelings of a heart which delights in their present situation and the bestowed marks of their esteem.

Since I joined the standard of liberty, to this wished-for hour of my present congratulations, I have seen such glorious deeds performed, and virtues displayed, by the sons of America, that, in the instant of my first concern for them, I had anticipated but a part of the love and regard which I devote to this rising empire.

During our revolution, sir, I obtained the unlimited indulgent confidence which I am equally

* Journals of congress, December, 1784.

proud and happy to acknowledge: it dates with the time when, an inexperienced youth, I could only claim my respected friend's paternal adoption; it has been most benevolently continued throughout every circumstance of the cabinet and the field, and in personal friendship I have often found a support against public difficulties. While on this solemn occasion I mention my obligations to congress, the states, the people at large, permit me also to remember the military companions, to whose services their country is so much indebted.

Having felt both the timely aid of my country, and for the part she, with a beloved king, acted in the cause of mankind, I enjoy an alliance so well rivetted by mutual affection, by interest, and even local situation. Recollection ensures it, futurity does but enlarge the prospect, and the private intercourse will every day increase which independent and advantageous trade cherishes in proportion as it is well understood.

In unbounded wishes to America, sir, I am happy to observe the prevailing disposition of the people, to strengthen the confederation, preserve public faith, regular trade, and in a proper guard over continental magazines and frontier posts, in a general system of militia, in foreseeing attention to the navy to ensure every kind of safety. May this immense temple of freedom ever stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, and a sanctuary for the rights of mankind. And may these happy United States attain that complete splendour and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and ages to come rejoice in the departed souls of its founders."

This was the last of the numerous speeches delivered during this journey, in which Lafayette, in

the space of five months, travelled over an extent of more than than six hundred leagues. He sailed from New York for France, the 25th of January, 1785.

TO M. DE VERGENNES.

New York, September, 15th, 1784.

ALTHOUGH the packet is arrived, sir, it has not brought me a letter from you, but I know that your health is good, and I trust that all your family are also well. Since I landed here, I have never ceased travelling. In every place, I have been received with great kindness, and I spent a fortnight in General Washington's country seat. I am now on my road to be present at a treaty with the savages; from thence I shall proceed to New England. I shall rejoin the general, and we are to continue together our visit to different parts of the country. Towards the middle of November, we shall behold congress after its resurrection, and at the end of the year, I shall enjoy the happiness I so much desire of seeing again my own country.

The American news will be transmitted to you by M. de Marbois, and in my state of pilgrimage, I must reserve all my observations until my return to France.

The commerce with England proceeds from the immense credit granted by that country to every American. This must produce bankruptcies, and next winter will be favourable to us, provided our merchants consult the tastes and wants of the country. Some hemp has been sent by France to Virginia, and some wooden shoes to Baltimore.

An immense population is establishing itself

towards the Ohio. The new comers repair thither immediately, and the older inhabitants remove there also. The manufactures, and even the navigation of America, are retarded from this cause, and as it is intended to unite, by canals, the communication of the Potomac, the Susquehannah, and the Ohio, our manufactures will have the preference in Illinois and with the savages. But the outlet of that whole country is the Missisippi, and the prohibition will lead to disputes, at a later period than is believed in this part of the world, but far sooner than is expected in Europe. The Americans are attached to us, but they cordially detest the Spaniards. I endeavour, as much as a private individual can do so, to learn and serve the true interests of my country. The town of New York has presented me with the freedom of the city, an English sort of compliment, which, I ascertained beforehand, is of no sort of consequence. It has been inserted in the papers that the franchise of Lorient is reduced to the port itself. I shall publish a proper explanation on the subject.

I remain, sir, yours, &c.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Mount Vernon, December 8th, 1784.

MY DEAR MARQUIS,—The peregrinations of the day in which I parted from you, ended at Wailho. The next day, bad as it was, I got home before dinner. In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, which

length of years, and close connexion of your merits, have inspired me with. I often asked myself, as our carriages distanced, whether it was the last sight I ever should have of you, and though I wished to say no, my fears answered yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill I had seen diminishing for fifty-two years, and though I was blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the dreary mansions of my fathers. These things darkened the horizon, and gave a gloom to the future, consequently to my prospects of seeing you again. But I will not repine; I have had my day. Nothing of importance has occurred since I parted with you. I found my family well, and am now immersed in company; notwithstanding which I have, in haste, produced a few more letters to give you the trouble of, rather inclining to commit them to your care than to place them in many and unknown hands. It is unnecessary, I persuade myself, to repeat to you, my dear marquis, the sincerity of my regard and friendship: nor have I words which could express my affection for you were I to attempt it. My fervent prayers are offered for your safe and pleasant passage, happy meeting with Madame Lafayette and family, and the completion of every wish of your heart; in all which Mrs. Washington joins me, as she does in compliments to Captain Grandchain and the chevalier, of. whom little Washington often speaks. With every sentiment which is propitious and endearing, I am, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

On board the *Nymph*, New York harbour,
December 21, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have received your affectionate letter of the 8th instant, and from the known sentiments of my heart, you will easily guess what my feelings have been in perusing the tender expressions of your friendship. No, my dear general, our late parting was not by any means a last interview. My whole soul revolts at the idea, and could I harbour it an instant, indeed, my dear general it would make me miserable. I well see you never will go to France: the inexpressible pleasure of embracing you in my own house, of welcoming you in a family where your name is adored, I do not much expect to experience; but to you I shall return, and within the walls of Mount Vernon we shall yet often speak of old times. My firm plan is to visit now and then my friends on this side of the Atlantic, and the most beloved of all friends I ever had or ever shall have anywhere, is too strong an inducement for me to return to him, not to think that whenever it is possible I shall renew my so pleasing visits to Mount Vernon.

Since I have left you, my dear general, we have passed through Philadelphia to Trenton, where I was happy to find a numerous and well chosen congress. Their testimonies of kindness to me, and my answer to them, you will see in the newspapers. As to my services abroad, it has been (on motion respecting what I told you) universally decided that public confidence in me was a matter of course, a

doubt of which ought not to be expressed; but as I know the sense of congress, and as Mr. Jay* has accepted, and Mr. Jefferson will be minister in France, my situation in that respect will be very agreeable.

Orders have been sent to Canada to reinforce the posts, put the lake vessels in commission, and repel force by force; but I think that if once congress have the trade to regulate, mercantile interdictions will set those people to rights. Although party spirit has a little subsided in New York, yet that city is not by any means settled. How far from Boston!

Although your nephew is not arrived, I still hope for the pleasure to see him in Paris. General Greene was in Hartford when the letter reached him, from whence he came to New York, and I had the pleasure to spend some days with him. Inclosed I send you a small cypher. Should any public political business require a fuller one, I will write to you by a complete cypher, which I have had long ago with Mr. Jay's present department.

Mr. Cary, printer of the Volunteer Journal, has been obliged to fly for his life, and now lives at Mr. Sutter's, hatter, front street in Philadelphia, where he is going to set up a paper. A letter from you, becoming a subscriber, and telling him I have mentioned it to you, will the more oblige me, as I have promised him to recommend him to my friends: he now is an *American*, and we have nothing to do with his quarrel with the Duke of Rutland, which disputes, by the bye, seem to subside and to vanish into nothing. The French packet is not yet arrived.

* Mr. Jay was named secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Chevalier de Caraman and Captain Grandchain beg leave to offer their respects to you, Mrs. Washington, and all the family. My most affectionate, tender respects wait upon Mrs. Washington; I beg she will give a kiss for me to the little girls, my friend Tub; and I beg Mrs. Stuart, the Doctor, Mr. Lund Washington, and all our friends, to receive my best compliments. I hope Mr. Harrison will be soon appointed, and I wish his cousin may know it.

Adieu, adieu, my dear general: it is with inexpressible pain that I feel I am going to be severed from you by the Atlantic. Everything that admiration, respect, gratitude, friendship, and filial love, can inspire, is combined in my affectionate heart to devote me most tenderly to you. In your friendship I find a delight which words cannot express. Adieu, my dear general; it is not without emotion that I write this word, although I know I shall soon visit you again. Be attentive to your health. Let me hear from you every month. Adieu, adieu.

CORRESPONDENCE,

1785, 1786.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.*

(ORIGINAL.)

Versailles, February 9th, 1785.

My dear General,—After a pretty tedious passage of thirty days, we have safely arrived at Brest, from whence I came to Paris through Rennes, where the States of Britanny were assembled, and where their kindness to me made it necessary for me to stop one day. My family, wife, children, and friends, I found in perfect health. The politics of Europe are not in a tranquil condition, and from their situation, a dreadful war may break out. What I could collect I have written to Mr. Jay, and inclose a copy of my letter. The Prince de Condé and Marshal de Broglio are spoken of, to command the two armies; where I would serve, I had not yet time to arrange;† but it will not be with my dear

* Until the assembly of notables, in 1787, we have no manuscript of M. de Lafayette which can take the place of memoirs: we supply this deficit by letters, especially by those valuable ones in which he relates to General Washington his own history, as events may occur.

† The emperor had sent into the low countries forty thousand

general, and everything will be so short of that happiness, that nothing, when compared to it, can possibly please me. However, notwithstanding all preparations, I still am of opinion matters will be compromised, and, at least for this year, I hope no war will be necessary. The propriety of my not arriving later than now is obvious. Irish disputes are but little spoken of; but may revive with their congress and their reviews. England will take no part in the war, at least in the beginning. I have obeyed your orders, my dear general, and beside those you gave me, I have presented your compliments to every acquaintance of yours. In a few days I hope for a letter from you. Now, my dear general, that I have once more got used to the happiness of being with, or at least near you, a punctual correspondence, at least, is more than ever necessary to my heart. Should a packet come without a letter from you, I should indeed feel very unhappy. This letter will be but short, not so much on account of my late arrival, as that I did not think the third Tuesday was the 15th. For the same reason my little girl will be deprived of the honour of answering her sweet correspondent until next packet: those two letters have almost turned her head. Madame de Lafayette requests her most affectionate compliments to you and Mrs. Washington. The chevalier joins with me in assurances of respect to her, to your excellency, and we beg to be remembered to the young ones, and Mrs. Stuard. My compliments to the doctor and Mr. Lund Washington. Give me leave once more to recommend two

men, who were to be followed by another division. France ordered the formation of two corps of the army; the one in Flanders, and the other in Alsace.—(Letter to Mr. Jay of the 8th of February.

things to you: riding now and then, and getting a secretary. Adieu, adieu, my dear general; every sentiment that love, gratitude, regard, can inspire, every filial, friendly feeling, shall ever combine to put me at the head of all those who have ever loved a father and friend as your, &c.

TO MR. JOHN JAY.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, March 19th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I have been honoured with your letter of January the 19th, and am happy that federal ideas are thriving in America. The more I see, hear, and think, in Europe, the more I wish for every measure that can ensure to the United States dignity, power, and public confidence. Your three ministers* being in Paris, they will, of course, acquaint you with the present state of America, and also of European politics. Great Britain perseveres in her ill-humour: Spain in her ill-understood policy. On my arrival, I repeated what I have written, namely, the idea of getting New Orleans, or, at least, to advise the Spaniards to make it a free port. The former is impossible; as to the second, I had no positive answer; but I am sure my opinion was not thrown away. However, I confess, it is difficult to make converts of a Spanish cabinet; you know them better than I do.

Negotiations in Europe are still going on, and there is every reason to hope this will be terminated without bloodshed. Inclosed you will find a declaration, which has been published officially, in

* Messrs. Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson.

some measure, in the Leyden Gazette. Count de Maillebois is now in Holland, where they are raising troops, and where parties run very high. In the meanwhile the emperor had another plan in view, of which I wrote to you in my last letters; it was to exchange his dominions in the low countries for the electorate of Bavaria. But, fortunately for all the members of the empire, the Duke of Deux Ponts, nephew and heir to the elector, has firmly opposed it. A report has been spread that the emperor had intended to surprise Maestricht; but, although matters are not yet finally settled, I am pretty certain there will not be this year any Dutch or Bavarian war, both of which could not fail to involve France. It is, however, difficult to be decided in an opinion upon a matter which the ideas of one man may derange.

You speak to me of the introduction of flour in the West Indies. My wishes and my efforts are not unknown to you; but such clamours have been raised by the merchants against what we lately have obtained, that our efforts now must be directed towards holding it fast. These people are encouraged by the narrow politics of England, who, say they, have all the trade of America. I have appointed a conference with the Duke de la Vauguyon who is setting out for Spain, and I will tell him everything I know respecting the Missisippi.

Your ministers will probably write to you respecting the Algerine business. What information I can collect will be presented to them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.*

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, May 11th, 1785.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—This is not the only letter you will get from me by this packet, but as the opportunity is safe, I will trust young Mr. Adams with some matters which I should not like to venture in the post offices of France.

Protestants in France are under intolerable despotism. Although open persecution does not now exist, yet it depends upon the whim of the king, queen, parliament, or any of the ministry. Marriages are not legal among them; their wills have no force by law; their children are to be bastards; their persons to be hanged. I have put it into my head to be a leader in that affair, and to have their situation changed. With that view I am going, under other pretences, to visit their chief places of abode, with the consent of M. de Castries and another.* I will afterwards endeavour to gain M. de Vergennes and the parliament, with the keeper of the seals, who acts as chancellor. It is a work of time and of some danger to me, because none of them would give me a scrap of paper, or countenance whatsoever; but I run my chance. M. de Castries could only receive the secret from me, because it is not in his department. Do not answer me about it, only that you had my cyphered letter by Mr. Adams. But when, in the course of the fall, or winter, you hear of something that way, I wanted you to know I had a hand in it.

Ireland is spent out, and nothing for liberty's

* Probably M. de Malesherbes.

sake to do that way. I was in hopes Holland would offer something that way, but I am afraid not. I do not think Calonne's political life may last long, unless he leaves finances for some other branch.

I hope there will be no war in America; but if it should ever be the case, either to South Spain, to Missisippi, or to the frontier ports, and Canada, I depend upon you, my dear general, to be offered a command, which in one case, my situation as a Frenchman may render personally a little ticklish for me; but for which, in all cases, my situation as such, as well as my Roman-catholic creed, and the confidence you and the public are pleased to honour me with, may render me suitable to propose. But I earnestly hope it will not be the case that you make war, particularly with Spain, although a visit to Mexico and New Orleans I should prefer to anything I know of. Do not answer me about it otherwise than in general terms.

Adieu, my dear general; my best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to the family.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Sarriguemines, on the French frontier,
July 14th, 1785.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Before I leave the borders of France, I wish once more to remind you of your absent friend, and to let you hear that I am well, and just beginning my German travels.* I have

* At the close of his journey to the south of France, undertaken for the interests of the protestants, M. de Lafayette set out immediately for Germany.

been lately visiting some French towns, where I spoke a great deal about American trade, and fully answered the views I had the honour to communicate in a former letter. Now I am on my way to the *Deux Ponts*, where resides our friend the future Elector of Bavaria;* and to *Cassel*, where I shall see again the Hessian regiments; to *Berlin*, where I am told Lord Cornwallis is also going. From thence I shall wait on the King of Prussia, on his grand manœuvres in *Silesia;* visit *Saxony;* see the *Austrian camp in Bohemia;* pay my respects to the emperor at *Vienna;* return to *Berlin*, where grand manœuvres are to take place at the end of September, and after I have, on my way, examined all the fields of battle, I will return through *Holland*, and be again in Paris by the middle of October.

This letter, my dear general, goes with our old friend, Doctor Franklin, who, I hope, will be received with that respect he so much deserves. It will be forwarded by his grandson, a very deserving young man, who wishes to be introduced by me to you, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your attention. He has been much employed in public service: got nothing by it, and as the doctor loves him better than any one in the world, I think he ought to have the satisfaction to see him noticed by congress. You will oblige me by letting them know that I spoke my mind to you about it.

You remember an idea that I imparted to you three years ago. I am going to try it in the French colony of Cayenne; but will write more fully on the subject in my other letters. Nothing new in the

* The same who has been often spoken of in the preceding volume. He had been in the service of France, and in the corps of M. de Rochambeau. He was also called Prince Max. He was the late King of Bavaria.

political world. War is far at a distance. Adieu, my beloved general. My most affectionate respects wait on Mrs. Washington. You know my heart, and I need not add the assurances of the filial love, respect, and gratitude, with which I have the honour to be, your devoted friend, &c.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Mount Vernon, July 25, 1785.

My dear Marquis,—I have to acknowledge and thank you for your several favours of the 9th of February, 18th of March, and 18th of April, with their enclosures; all of which (the last only yesterday) have been received since I had the honour to address you in February.

I stand before you as a culprit, but to *repent* and *be forgiven*. I do the former, do you practise the latter, and it will be participating of a divine attribute; but I am not barren of excuses for this seeming inattention. Frequent absence from home, a round of company when at it, and the pressure of many matters, might be urged as apologies for my long silence; but I disclaim all of them, and trust to the forbearance of friendship and your wonted indulgence. Indeed, so few things occurred at the time worthy of your attention, that this might also be added to the catalogue of my excuses; especially when I further add, that one of my letters, if it be estimated according to its length, would make three of yours.

I now congratulate you, and my heart does it more effectually than my pen, on your safe arrival

at Paris, from your voyage to this country, and on the happy meeting with Madame de Lafayette, and your family, in good health. May this blessing long continue to them, and may every day add increase of happiness to yourself. As the clouds which overspread your hemisphere are dispersing, and peace, with all its concomitants, is dawning upon your land, I will banish the sound of war from my letters. I wish to see the sons and daughters of the world in peace, and busily employed in the more agreeable amusement of fulfilling the first and great commandment, *increase and multiply*. As an encouragement to it, we have opened the fertile plains of the Ohio to the poor, the needy, the oppressed, of the earth; any one, therefore, who is heavy laden, or who wants land to cultivate, may repair here, and make it overflow, as in the land of promise, with milk and honey. The ways are preparing, and the roads will be made easy through the channels of the Potomac and James River.

Speaking of those navigations, I have the pleasure to state that the subscription, especially for the first, at the surrender of the books, agreeably to the act which I inclosed you in my last, exceeded my most sanguine expectations; for the latter, that is, James River, no comparison of them has yet been made. Of the 90,000*l.* sterling required for the Potomac, upward of 40,000*l.* was subscribed before the middle of May, and increasing fast. A president, and four directors, consisting of your humble servant, George Johnson, and Lee of Maryland, Colonel Fitzgerald, and Gilpin, of this State, were chosen to conduct the undertaking. The first dividend of the money was paid in on the 15th of the month; and the work is to begin the first of next in those parts which

require less skill, leaving the most difficult till an engineer of abilities and practical knowledge can be obtained, which remind me of the question which I propounded to you on the subject, and on which I should be glad to learn your sentiments. The project, if it succeeds, of which I have no doubt, will bring the Atlantic states and the western territory into close connexion, and be productive of very extensive commercial and political consequences, the last of which gives a spur to my exertions, as I could foresee many and great mischiefs which would naturally result from a separation, and that separation would inevitably take place if the obstructions between the two countries remained, and the navigation of the Missisippi should be made free.

Great Britain, in her commercial policy, is acting the same unwise part with respect to herself which seems to have influenced her councils, and is defeating her own ends. The restrictions of our own trade, and her heavy imposts on the staple commodities of this country, will, I conceive, immediately produce powers in congress to regulate the trade of the union, which, more than probable, would not have been obtained without, in half a century. The mercantile interests of the *whole* union are endeavouring to effect this, and will no doubt succeed. They see the necessity of a controlling power, and the futility, indeed, the absurdity, of each state enacting laws for this purpose, independent of one another. This will be the case also, after awhile, in all matters of common concern. It is to be regretted, I confess, that democratical states must always *feel* before they can *see*. It is this that makes their governments slow; but the people will be right at last.

Congress, after long deliberation, have at length agreed upon a mode for the disposition of the lands of the United States in the western territory. It may be a good one, but it does not agree with my ideas. The ordinance is long, and I have none of them by me, or I would send one for your perusal. They seem in that instance, as in almost every other, to be surrendering the little power they have to the states individually which gave it to them. Many think the price which they have fixed upon the land too high, and all to the southward. I believe that disposing of them in townships, and by square miles, alternately, will be a great let to the sale; but experience, to which there is an appeal, must decide.

Soon after I had written to you in February, Mr. Jefferson, after him M. Carmichael, informed me that, in consequence of an application from Mr. Harrison, for permission to export a jackass for me from Spain, his Catholic Majesty had ordered two of the first race in his kingdom (lest an accident might happen to one) to be purchased and offered to me as a mark of his esteem. Such an instance of condescension and attention from a crowned head is very flattering, and lays me under great obligations to the king. I had long endeavoured to procure one of a good size, but had little expectation of receiving two as a royal gift.*

My best wishes will accompany you to Potsdam, and into the Austrian dominions, whenever you set out upon that tour. As an unobserved spectator, I should like to take a peep at the troops of those monarchs, at their manœuvring upon a grand field-day; but, as it is among the unattainable

* There were at that time no jackasses in America.

things, my philosophy should supply the place of curiosity, and set my mind at ease.

The latter end of April, I had the pleasure to receive, in good order, by a ship from London, the picture of yourself, Madame de Lafayette, and children, which I consider as an invaluable present. I shall give it the best place in my house. Mrs. Washington joins me in respectful compliments, and in every good wish for Madame de Lafayette, yourself, and family. Also the other persons who have come under your kind notice, desire their compliments to you. For myself, I can only repeat the sincere attachment and unbounded affection of, my dear marquis, &c.

Rheinsberg, August 7th, 1785.

If you wish to receive news of me, my dear cousin,* I may inform you that I have been for three days at the country-seat of Prince Henry. You will not be much surprised to learn that I arrived in the middle of dinner, and that I gave the master of the house the trouble every night of making up my accounts at loto; but in spite of these misdemeanors, they do not appear dissatisfied with me, and I am much pleased with the kindness and agreeable qualities of Prince Henry. His warm affection for our nation has won my heart; although I know how to reject compliments that are personal to myself, I never could refuse to accept a compliment intended for my country. I enjoy far more Prince Henry's society than I could have done at Paris. He comes to me as soon as breakfast is over: we walk out tête-à-tête

* See the note to a letter of the 1st of January, 1783.

until dinner, at which place we are always seated next each other, and the same at supper; and in the saloon, except during loto, we always converse together: he replies to my questions in the most agreeable manner, and the tone of society here is extremely polite and pleasing. There is a very good theatre, and *le Huron* was given, which interested me both as a Frenchman and as a savage; in a word, I am highly delighted with my excursion, and endeavour to draw as much advantage from it as possible. To-morrow night I return to Berlin, and on Friday, after having seen some troops, I set out for Silesia, where I hope to see and admire the king in a more familiar manner, and, if his health permits it, his kindness to me induces me to hope I shall enjoy for several days the pleasure of his conversation. From what I have heard here, M. de Custine has told some stories about the American war, and especially about the Virginian campaign; but I do not desire to broach this subject, and not having carried out with me plans of campaigns, as he did, I content myself with a little fame in wholesale, without disputing each inch of ground, as I formerly did with Lord Cornwallis.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, February 8th, 1786.

My dear General,—Your letters of September the 1st, and of November the 8th, have safely come to hand, for which I offer you thanks, the warmer and more affectionate, as nothing, while we are separated, can so much rejoice your friend's heart as

the unspeakable blessing of hearing from his beloved general. A long time has elapsed since which my letters have been unfrequent, uninteresting, and uncertain in point of consequence. My summer has been devoted to princes, soldiers, and post-horses; and whilst I have been rambling through Cassel, Brunswick, Berlin, Breslaw, Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Potsdam again, and Berlin, no opportunity offered that I could trust, nor even any that I could hear of. Since I am returned home, no packet has sailed, and this day, for the first time, I can safely write by a packet-boat, and put my letter into Mr. Barrett's hands, a Boston gentleman, who is on his return to America.

Although my former letters have given you an account of my journey, I must repeat to you, my dear general, that at Cassel I saw our Hessian friends, and among them old Knip.* I told them they were very fine fellows; they returned thanks and compliments. Ancient foes can meet with pleasure; which, however, I think, must be greater on the side that fought a successful cause. At Brunswick, I got acquainted with the duke, formerly the renowned hereditary prince, who is now arrived at the height of military knowledge and of the confidence of the Prussian army, in which, although a sovereign, he acts as a general.† No officer at Berlin seems to me so worthy of attention as General Mullendorf, whose name you, no doubt, have heard. To Potsdam I went to make my bow to the king, and, notwithstanding what I had heard of him, could not help being struck with the dress and ap-

* General Knyphausen.

† The same who commanded the Prussian army in 1792, and who made the famous manifesto.

pearance of an old, broken, dirty corporal, covered all over with Spanish snuff, with his head almost leaning on one shoulder, and fingers almost distorted by the gout; but what surprises me much more is the fire, and sometimes the softness, of the most beautiful eyes I ever saw, which give as charming an expression to his physiognomy, as he can take a rough and threatening one at the head of his troops.. I went to Silesia, where he reviewed an army of thirty-one battalions, and seventy-five squadrons, making in all thirty thousand men, seven thousand five hundred of whom were on horseback. For eight days, I made dinners of three hours with him, where the conversation was pretty much confined, at first, to the Duke of York, the King, and myself, and then to two or three more, which gave me the opportunity to hear him throughout, and to admire the vivacity of his wit, the endearing charms of his address and politeness, so far that I did conceive people could forget what a tyrannic, hard-hearted, and selfish man he is. Lord Cornwallis being there, he took care to invite him at table to a seat by me, having the British king's son on the other side, and to make a thousand questions on American affairs. Among others, I remember he asked the Duke of York if it was true you intended taking a house in London. From Silesia I hastened to Vienna, where I only stayed a few days: I had a very long conference with the emperor, saw the generals, Laudon and Lasey, and my uncle the ambassador, with Prince Kaunitz, and after those objects were fulfilled I posted off through Prague and Dresden to Potsdam, where the troops were, to make sham fights and every kind of warlike manœuvres. Had I stayed in Prussia, I might have gone often to the old king's, who has been most

particularly kind to me, but the very day I arrived at Potsdam he fell sick, and was near dying. The manœuvres went on, however, and there I had new opportunities of knowing the hereditary prince of Prussia, who is a good officer, an honest man, a man of plain and good sense, but does not come up to the abilities of his two uncles. His second uncle, Prince Henry, I have kept to the last, because he is by far the best acquaintance I have made. I do not inquire who is the greater general, his brother or he, a question that divides the military world; but to first rate abilities, both as a soldier and a politician, to a perfect literary knowledge, and all the endowments of the mind, he joins an honest heart, philanthropic feelings, and rational ideas on the rights of mankind. I have spent a fortnight with him at his country-seat, and we kept up an epistolary correspondence. As the king was still confined, and could not bear being seen in that situation, I determined neither to ask for leave to visit, nor to wait until he was up, and our adieus having taken place by letters, I returned home through Magdebourg, where the Duke of Brunswick commanded, with manœuvres similar to those of Potsdam.

It is with the highest satisfaction that I saw the Prussian army. Nothing can be compared to the beauty of the troops, the discipline that is diffused throughout, the simplicity of their movements, the uniformity of their regiments. It is a plain regular machine, that has been set these forty years, and undergoes no alteration but what may make it simpler and lighter. Every supposition in war, and every motion derived from it, has been, from constant use, so much inculcated into their heads, that it has become almost a piece of mechanism for them. Were the resources of France, the alertness of her men, the

intelligence of her officers, and national ambition, and moral delicacy, applied to such a constant system, we should be as superior to the Prussians as our army is now inferior to theirs, and that is saying a great deal. I have also seen the Austrians, but not together. Their general system of economy is more to be admired than the manœuvres of their troops; their machine is not plain: our regiments are better than theirs, and what advantage they might have in a line over us, we can surpass with a little use. Indeed, I think there is more instruction of detail in some of our best regiments, than those of the Prussians, but their line manœuvres are infinitely better than ours; the Austrian army is much more numerous than either, and costs much less than the French.

On my journey I have examined several fields of battle, and the whole tour has been very useful in military instruction. It has been also made very agreeable by the good reception and the flattering testimonies I have met with from those crowns, staffs, and other great personages. There was at those camps a crowd of English officers; among others, Lord Cornwallis, Colonels England, Abercromby, Musgrave; on our side there were Colonel Smith, Generals Duportail and Gouvion, and often did Smith and myself make this observation, that, had we been unfortunate in the contest, we should have cut a poor figure there.

Wherever I went, my dear general, I had the pleasure to hear your name pronounced with that respect and enthusiasm which, although it is a matter of course, and I am so used to it, yet it never fails to make my heart glow with unspeakable happiness. With your eulogium began every conversation on American affairs; and to be your friend, your

disciple, and your adopted son, was, as it ever has been, and will be for ever, the pride of my heart, and the most pleasing of my thoughts. I wish the other sentiments I have had occasion to discover, with respect to America, were equally satisfactory with those that are personal to you. I need not say that the spirit and the firmness with which the revolution was carried has excited universal admiration; that every one who cares anything about the rights of mankind is an enthusiast for the principles on which the constitutions are built: but I have often had the mortification to hear that the want of powers in congress, of union between the states, of energy in their government, would make the confederation very insignificant. The fact is, that those people, generally speaking, know very little of the advantages of democratical governments, of the resources to be found in a free nation, and the parties which are essentially deriving from the constitution; but they cannot help being more forcibly struck with all the blemishes we have so often lamented together. It is conveyed to them through every newspaper, and great pains are taken by the English ambassadors to confirm the reports which they themselves have raised. Numberless of these notions I have set to rights. The King of Prussia, the emperor, the great men of both countries, I found either ill-informed or informed by people who had led them in the wrong path. By their conduct in the revolution, the citizens of America have commanded the respect of the world; but it grieves me to think they will, in a measure, lose it, unless they strengthen the confederation, give powers to regulate the trade, pay off their debt, at least the interest of it, establish a well-regulated militia, in a word, complete those measures which you have re-

commended to them. I give very frankly my opinion to congress on this subject, and will write, at the same time, to all my friends on that side of the Atlantic.

There are, I am told, some better hopes of a commercial treaty with Great Britain. Their rancour is boundless, but I flatter myself their mercantile interest will get the better of it. I long for the reddition of the posts, and wish the plenipotentiaries had given themselves time to make France guarantee for the treaty. This omission has occasioned great mischief. My endeavours are to convince France that it is their interest to obtain a measure that gives them a large share in the Indian trade; but, in case matters were brought to decided measures against Great Britain, upon you, my dear general, I depend to know it in time, and to indulge my wishes to render further services to the United States.

Houdon* is arrived in Paris, but has not yet brought your bust, which he expects by water from London. I wait impatiently for it, and am very sanguine in my hopes for its likeness to you. On hearing of the King of Spain's compliment, I had suspended my negotiation for asses. What now happens is, to me, a further proof that kings are good for nothing but to spoil the sport, even when they mean right.† Let your royal business go as it may, I have requested Admiral Suffren to get for me a jackass and two females, and before the summer they will be rolling on the banks of the Potomac, and I wish to God I may do the same. Your letter

* A French sculptor, charged with making the statue of Washington and the two busts of M. de Lafayette for Virginia.

† It is seen, by a letter from Washington, that the jackasses of the King of Spain had not arrived in America.

to M. d'Oillamson has been forwarded, with your compliments, to the lady.* I have also spoken to Marquis de St. Simon, but wish you may write to him, because he has his share of vanity, and will be glad if you pay affectionate compliments to him, and shew a regard for M. de Menonville, his adjutant-general, disclaiming the right to make Cincinnati, and leaving it, with your best wishes, with the society in Europe.

It has been a great satisfaction to me, my dear general, to hear of my friend George's matrimonial happiness. As I write to him on the subject, I will not trouble you with my compliments to the young people. I give you joy on the success of your Potomac plans. There is no doubt but that a good engineer may be found in this country to conduct the work: France in this point exceeds England, and will have, I think, every advantage but that of the language, which is something, although it may be replaced by the help of interpreters. An application from Mr. Jefferson and myself to the ministry, and more particularly an intimation that you set a value by that measure, will ensure to us the choice of a good engineer. They are different from the military ones, and are called *ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées*. I think five hundred guineas a year while the business lasts, and an assurance not to lose his rank in France, will be sufficient to provide you with the gentleman you want.

I cannot finish this long letter, my dear general, without telling you a word of European politics.

* Washington had asked for French greyhounds. M. de Lafayette procured some, through the kindness of the Count d'Oillamson, whose wife gave a very pretty female one, to which she was much attached.—(Manuscript letter of the 13th of May, 1785.)

The system of France is quite pacific: the nation feels a partiality for Prussia. Austrian interest, between us, is much supported by the queen. Count de Vergennes is not inclined this way, but acts with caution; from that it results that we shall patch up as much as we can; that the ambitious views of the emperor will not be so decidedly opposed as we might do it. The plans of Prussia will be cramped by us. But should matters come to an extremity, and the emperor set out on a wild scheme against Prussia, we shall then be forced to a war against him; as the opinion of the people, and that of the ministry, most of them at least, is opposed to imperial encroachments. With respect to England, we are rivalising each other; but pretty friendly for the present, and pay great regard to our respective nations. A treaty of commerce is upon the carpet, and I think our politics on the continent draw pretty much the same way,—that of avoiding a war; which, however, England wishes to engage us in, provided she dispenses with taking a part in it. Our alliance with Holland has made them very angry, and I think it very advantageous to us. We are very busy about making a harbour at Cherbourg, which is a wonderful undertaking, as it is made with piles of stones thrown into the high sea, and will succeed very well. Our financier and Baron de Breteuil are in open dispute, and I do not think the former will last long. But I need not teaze you with the intrigues of Versailles. I thank you most tenderly, my dear general, for the caution you give me,* which I will improve, and find that satisfaction in my prudence from thinking it is

* This passage alludes to what Washington replied to the first communications of the designs of M. de Lafayette in favour

dictated by you. I hope that, between us, in the course of next winter, the affair of the protestants will take a good turn. Another secret which I entrust to you, my dear general, is, that I have purchased, for a hundred and twenty-five thousand French livres, a plantation in the colony of Cayenne, and am going to free my negroes, in order to make that experiment which you know is my hobby-horse.

Great Britain is a little embarrassed in her Irish concerns. Some say that her affairs in India are not well: notwithstanding these reports, India is to them an immense, and an amazing, source of wealth and power. It seems they are moderating their bitter expressions, their injurious publications, against America, and from what Mr. Adams writes, I hope they will, although it is slowly, come into more rational measures with respect to the United States.

The King of Prussia is about leaving the stage, and cannot last long. The last accounts from Potsdam are very bad. It will make but little odds in politics, if his nephew, as he will no doubt be obliged to do, follow the advice of Prince Henry. The first idea of the emperor will certainly be to do something. But I do not believe this will produce a war, although there is no knowing it, with a man of his temper.

While on my tour, I need not say what I have said, in conversation with the two monarchs and everybody, all that I thought could tend to the

of the Protestants:—"My best wishes will always accompany your undertakings. But remember, my dear friend, it is a part of the military art to reconnoitre and feel your way before you engage too amply. More is oftentimes effected by regular approaches than by an open assault; from the first you may make a good retreat, from the latter (in case of repulse) it rarely happens.—(Manuscript letter, 1st September, 1785.)

advantage of America. In this country, I am endeavouring to open as many channels as I can for American trade. There are about twenty-five millions of French livres' worth of articles that the United States might furnish to France. Those remittances I want to be encouraged by every possible favour. Upon my solicitations, a committee has been named which I am to attend to-morrow. The last part of my business will not be an easy matter; for it tends to no less than the destruction of the tobacco farm, but I do not hope my speeches* can produce such an effect. Mr. Barrett, who takes care of this letter, is going to Boston, with a six years' contract for whale oil, of four hundred thousand livres a year.

Words cannot sufficiently express to you how much I am pleased with Mr. Jefferson's public conduct. He unites every ability that can recom-

* A work, published in 1787, by Clavière and Brissot, (who have been celebrated since amongst the *Girondin* party,) entitled *France and the United States*, gives a summary of a speech delivered by M. de Lafayette in that committee. The subject in discussion was a regulation on tobacco, of which the monopoly then produced from 28 to 29 millions.

"M. le Marquis de Lafayette," they say, page 187, "proposed the abolition of the monopoly of that production. It may easily be imagined that such a proposal produced keen discussions between the deputies for financial measures.

"The Marquis de Lafayette recapitulated their calculations, and founding on their basis even the establishment of a right of entrance of thirty-two sous and a half per pound, he demonstrated that that right would not only suffice to procure twenty-nine millions for the state, but would also render, besides six millions for the expenses of administration, and of guarding against smuggling, a benefit of ten per cent. for the administrators, and a considerable surplus.

"Making, afterwards, an exposition of his own calculations, and founding upon their basis even the establishment of a right

mend him with the ministers, and at the same time possesses accomplishments of the mind and the heart which cannot but give him many friends. Humphreys is now in England. Langbourn is arrived in Paris these two weeks, but the same queer fellow you know him to be, and you will hardly believe that I could not as yet prevail on him to come and see me.

It is with the utmost regret, my dear general, that I heard of the losses Mrs. Washington had the unfortunate occasion to lament. I hope she knows my heart well enough to be certain that it most affectionately sympathized with hers. I beg her to accept the homage of my tender respects. Madame de Lafayette and the little family beg to be respectfully remembered to her, as well as to you, my beloved general. My best compliments wait on all the inhabitants of Mount Vernon, on all our friends

of entrance of thirty-two sous and a half per pound, he proved that the new regulation would occasion a greater consumption of tobacco; that tobacco would be both less dear and of a better quality, and that the kingdom would be delivered from the vexations and disorders caused by that monopoly; a very great advantage, hitherto but little attended to, by calculating only the interest of the public treasure, which M. de Lafayette would clearly demonstrate.

"Let us be permitted to fix our eyes for a moment on the new and striking spectacle this discussion offered,—let us be permitted to address to this young and generous Frenchman the homage of that philosophy of peace which only saw in military exploits the praiseworthy aim of favouring liberty, and, with her, the progress of knowledge and reason. M. de Lafayette has contributed by his valour to avenge the Americans; he is now engaged in extending their commerce, and that of his own country. May he pursue with equal success this useful career!

"The financial administrators have rejected the calculations

you happen to meet; old Harrison, when you write to him; my friend Tub, and the young ladies. My best respects to Mrs. Stuart, to the doctor, to Mr. Lund, and most affectionately I beg to be remembered to your own family, particularly to your respected mother. I beg leave to send, under cover, a few trifles, to be presented to Tub and his sisters.

Adieu, my dear general; you know how affectionately and respectfully I have the honour to be, your devoted and filial friend.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

February 11th.

THE inclosed, my dear general, is a vocabulary which the empress of Russia has requested me to have filled up with Indian names, as she has ordered

of M. de Lafayette, but without refuting them. We regret not being able to publish here the details of this very contradictory discussion. It is, perhaps, the first time that the question upon the best manner of conciliating the impost on tobacco with the freedom of its trade, has been submitted to such accurate calculations, and our regret is increased from the conviction that those calculations would serve to elucidate our own.

"We have pleasure in retracing this summary, which forms such a contrast to the denunciation against Lafayette by the same Brissot, in the national assembly of 1792, in support of the petition of the jacobins, presented by the famous Collot d'Herbois. It is true, however, that, on that same day, before ascending the legislative tribune, Brissot said to the Abbé Duvernet, a very respectable member of the club, 'I am going to denounce one of the men I love and esteem the most.' 'And on what account?' he was asked. 'Oh! because he has denounced the jacobins; it is a party affair.'"—(Note from a manuscript of M. de Lafayette.)

an universal dictionary to be made of all languages. It would greatly oblige her to collect the words she sends translated into the several idioms of the nations on the banks of the Ohio. Presley, Nevill, and Morgan in Fort Pitt, and General Muhlenberg, in Fayette's county, and our other friends, would undertake it for us, and be very attentive to accuracy.

I beg your pardon, my dear general, for the trouble I give you, but have been so particularly applied to, that I cannot dispense with paying great attention to the business.

This goes with so long an epistle of mine, that I shall only present you here with my best love and wishes, and am, my dear general, your respectful and tender friend, &c.

TO MR. JOHN JAY.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, February 11th, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I have not, for a long time, had the honour to address you, either in public or private letters. This has been owing to a tour I made through several parts of Europe, and to a derangement in the packets, which, to my great concern, I found to have taken place during my absence.

In the course of a journey to Prussia, Silesia, the Austrian dominions, and back again to Berlin, I could not but have many opportunities to improve myself by the inspection of famous fields of battle, the conversation of the greatest generals, and the sight of excellent troops, those of Prussia particu-

larly exceeding my expectations. I had occasions, not less numerous, to lament the folly of nations who can bear a despotic government, and to pay a new tribute of respect and attachment to the constitutional principles we had the happiness to establish. Wherever I went, America was, of course, a topic of conversation: her efforts during the contest are universally admired; and in the transactions which have so gloriously taken place, there is a large field of enthusiasm for the soldier, of wonder and applause for the politician, and to the philosopher and the philanthropist they are a matter of unspeakable delight, and I could say, of admiration. Those sentiments I had the pleasure to find generally diffused; but, to my great sorrow, (and I will the more candidly tell it in this letter, as it can hurt none more than it hurts myself,) I did not find that every remark equally turned to the advantage of my pride, and of that satisfaction I feel in the admiration of the world for the United States.

In countries so far distant, under constitutions so foreign to republican notions, the affairs of America cannot be thoroughly understood, and such inconveniences as we lament ourselves are greatly exaggerated by her enemies. It would require almost a volume to relate how many mistaken ideas I had the opportunity to set to rights; and it has been painful for me to hear, it is now disagreeable to mention, the bad effect which the want of federal union, of effective arrangements for the finances and commerce, and of a general establishment of militia, have had on the minds of European nations. It is foolishly thought by some, that democratical constitutions will not, cannot last; that the states will quarrel with each other; that a king, or at least a nobility, is indispensable for the prosperity of a nation; but I would

not attend to those absurdities, as they are answered by the smallest particle of unprejudiced common sense, and will, I trust, be for ever destroyed by the example of America. But it was impossible for me to feel so much unconcerned when those points were insisted upon for which I could not but acknowledge within myself there was some ground, although it was so unfairly broached upon by the enemies of the United States. It is an object with the European governments to check and discourage the spirit of emigration which, I hope, will increase among the Germans, with a more powerful knowledge of the situation of America; and while I was enjoying the admiration and respect of those parts of the world for the character of the United States; while I was obliged to hear some remarks which, although they were exaggerated, did not seem to me quite destitute of foundation. I heartily addressed my prayers to Heaven, that, by her known wisdom, patriotism, and liberality of principles, as well as firmness of conduct, America may preserve the consequence she has so well acquired, and continue to command the admiration of the world.

What I now have the honour to write is the result of conversations with the principal characters in the countries I have visited, and particularly the Austrian and Prussian ministers, the emperor, the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Henry, a man equally great and virtuous, the Prince Royal, and the King of Prussia. With the last I have often dined, in the company of the Duke of York, second son of his British Majesty; when American affairs, past and present, were brought on the carpet, and sometimes in a manner not a little embarrassing for an English Prince. My stay at Vienna was short, but I had a

very long conference with the emperor, in which we spoke much of the American trade, and I found he had imbibed British prejudices. The next day, Prince de Kaunitz introduced the same subject to me, and expressed some astonishment that the United States did not make advances towards the emperor. I answered, advances had been made formerly, and more than were necessary, on the part of America, whom there was as much occasion to court as for her to seek for alliances, but that my attachment to his Imperial Majesty made me wish he would address, on that business, the ministers of congress now at Paris and London, through the medium of his ambassadors. I added, that the best measure, to be taken immediately, was to open the Italian ports to American fish; but I do not think the United States will ever find a very extensive commercial benefit in her treaties with the court.

In everything that concerns France, my respected friend, Mr. Jefferson, will give you sufficient information. The affair of American commerce wears a better prospect than it has hitherto done; so far, at least, that a committee* has been appointed to hear

* We regret not having been able to collect the speeches of Lafayette in that committee of trade, formed under the ministry of M. de Calonne, and composed of the financial administrators, general-inspectors of commerce, and the members of council, appointed to examine the mercantile reports between France and the United States. Lafayette pleaded the cause of the liberty of commerce, and the interests of the Americans. The freedom of two ports had been granted them—Dunkirk and Bayonne. It was on this occasion that the town of Bayonne inscribed Lafayette amongst its citizens. In the *American Cultivator*, a letter from Nantucket may be seen, which proves that the grant of favours upon whale oil was obtained.

"The generous concession of the French government," it is said, vol. iii. p. 385, "obtained by the Marquis de Lafayette,

what we have to say on the trade between this kingdom and the United States.

The King of Prussia is very unwell, and cannot live many months. His nephew is an honest, firm, military man. From the emperor's temper, a war could be feared; but our system is so pacific, and it will be so difficult for England to involve us in a quarrel without acting a part, which she has no interest to do, that I do not think the tranquillity of Europe will be deranged. Holland is checking stadtholderian influence, but no further. The King of Naples and his father are quarrelling on account of a minister leaning to the house of Bourbon, and devoted to other powers, whom the son wants to keep. I had lately an opportunity to know that the last revolt in Peru has cost a hundred thousand livres; but from the same account I find that those people are far remote from ideas which lead to a sensible revolution.

I have the honour to be, &c.

reanimates our sinking industry, and fixes us upon this island, our ancient home, from whence the new order of things was forcing us to emigrate. Penetrated with feelings of gratitude for such a signal service, the inhabitants of Nantucket, assembling in co-operation, some time ago, voted and resolved, that each individual should give the milk of his cow for four-and-twenty hours, that the whole produce should be converted into a cheese, weighing five hundred pounds, which should be sent to the Marquis de Lafayette, as a very feeble, in truth, but sincere, testimony of the affection and gratitude of the inhabitants of Nantucket. Several of those families had been, in reality, on the point of emigrating to New Scotland."—(Note from a manuscript of M. de Lafayette.)

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Mount Vernon, May 10th, 1786.

MY DEAR MARQUIS,—The letter which you did me the favour to write to me by Mr. Barrett, dated the 6th of February, together with the parcel and package which accompanied it, came safely to hand, and for which I pray you to accept my grateful acknowledgments. The account given of your tour through Prussia and other States of Germany, to Vienna and back, and of the troops which you saw reviewed in the pay of those monarchs, at different places, is no less pleasing than interesting, and must have been as instructive as entertaining to yourself. Your reception at the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and elsewhere, must have been pleasing to you. To have been received by the King of Prussia and Prince Henry his brother (who, as soldiers and politicians, can yield the palm to none) with such marks of attention and distinction, was as indicative of their discernment as it is of your merit, and increases my opinion of them. It is to be lamented, however, that great characters are seldom without a blot. That one man should tyrannise over millions will always be a shade in that of the former, whilst it is pleasing to hear that a due regard to the rights of mankind is characteristic of the latter. I shall revere and love him for this trait in his character. To have reviewed the several fields of battle over which you passed, could not, among other sensations, have failed to excite this thought:—here have fallen a thousand gallant spirits to satisfy the ambition of, or to support, their sovereign, perhaps, in acts of oppression. To what wise purpose does Providence

permit this? Is it as a scourge for mankind, or is it to prevent them from becoming too populous? To the latter, would not the fertile plains of the western world receive the redundancy of the old.

For the several articles of intelligence with which you have been so good as to furnish me, and for your sentiments on European politics, I feel myself very much obliged. On those I can depend: newspaper accounts are too sterile, vague, and contradictory, on which to form my opinion, or to claim even the smallest attention. The account of, and observations which you have made on, the policy and practice of Great Britain at the other courts of Europe, I was too well informed and convinced of before. Unhappily for us, though their accounts are greatly exaggerated, yet our conduct has laid the foundation for them. It is one of the evils of democratical governments, that the people, not always seeing, and frequently misled, must often feel before they can act right. But then, evils of this nature seldom fail to effect their own cure. It is to be lamented, nevertheless, that the remedies are so slow, and that those who may wish to apply them seasonably are not attended to before they suffer in person, in interest, and in reputation. I am not without hopes that matters will soon take a favourable turn in the federal constitution. The discerning part of the community have long since seen the necessity of giving adequate powers to congress for natural purposes, and the ignorant and designing must yield to it ere long. Several late acts of the different legislatures have a tendency thereto. Among these the imposts, which is now acceded to by every state of the union (though clogged a little by that of New York), will enable congress to support the national credit in pecuniary matters better than it has been;

whilst a measure, in which this state* has taken the lead at its last session, will, it is to be hoped, give efficient power to that body for all commercial purposes: this is, a nomination of some of its first characters to meet other commissioners from the several states, in order to consider of, and decide upon, such forms as shall be necessary for the sovereign power of them to act under, which are to be reported to the respective legislatures at their autumnal sessions. For it is to be hoped, final, thereby avoiding those sessions and petites deliberations which result from recommendations and partial concurrences; at the same time that it places it at once at the power of congress to meet European nations upon decisive and equal ground.

All the legislatures which I have heard from, have come into the propositions, and have very judicious appointments. Much good is expected from this measure, and it is regretted by many that more objects were not embraced by the meeting. A general convention is talked of by many, for the purpose of revising and correcting the defects of the federal government; but whilst this is the wish of some, it is the dread of others, from an opinion that matters are not sufficiently ripe for such an event.

The British still occupy our posts at the westward, and will, I am persuaded, continue to do so, under one pretence or another, no matter how shallow, as long as they can. Of this, from some circumstances that have occurred, I have been convinced since August, 1783, and gave it as my opinion at that time, if not officially to congress, the sovereign, at least to a number of its members, that

* The State of Virginia, in which Mount Vernon is situated.

they might act accordingly. It is, indeed, evident to me that they had it in contemplation to do this at the time of the treaty. The expression of the article which respects the evacuation of them, as well as the tenour of their conduct since, relative to this business, is strongly marked with deception. I have not the smallest doubt, but that every secret engine in their power is continually at work to inflame the Indian mind, with a view to keep it at variance with these states, for the purpose of retarding our settlements to the westward, and depriving us of the free and petty trade of that country.

The benevolence of your heart, my dear marquis, is so conspicuous upon all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proof of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit would diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country; but I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set them afloat at once, would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief, but by degrees it certainly might, assuredly ought to be, effected, and that too by legislative authority.

I give you the trouble of a letter to the Marquis St. Simon, in which I have requested to be presented to M. de Menonville. The favourable terms in which you speak of Mr. Jefferson gives me great pleasure; he is a man of whom I early imbibed the highest opinion. I am as much pleased, therefore, to meet confirmations of my discernment in these matters, as I am mortified when I find myself mistaken.

As Mrs. Washington and myself have both done ourselves the honour to write to Madame de Lafayette, I shall not give you the trouble this time of presenting my respects to her, but pray you to accept every good wish which the family can render for your health and every blessing which life can afford you. I cannot conclude without expressing to you the earnest inquiries and ardent wishes of your friends, (among whom I claim to stand first,) to see you in America, and of giving you repeated assurances of the sincerity of my friendship and of the affectionate regard with which I am, &c.

P.S.—I had like to have forgotten a promise which I made, in consequence of the inclosed application from Colonel Carter; it was that I would write to you for the wolf-hound, if it is to be had conveniently. The inducements and the services you would render by this act will be more evident from the expressions of the letter than from anything I can say. The vocabulary for her Imperial Majesty I will use my best endeavours to have completed, but she must have a little patience; the Indian tribes on the Ohio are numerous, dispersed, and distant from those who are likely to do the business properly.

Mount Vernon, June 8th, 1786.

My dear Marquis,—You would be surprised at the old date of the letter herewith sent you, were I not to tell you that the vessel which was to have carried it was to sail agreeably to the date. Nothing new has occurred since it was written, nor should I have given you the trouble of a second letter by the same ship, had I not forgotten to mention in my last, that Mrs. Washington had packed and sent for Madame Lafayette's acceptance a barrel

of Virginia hams. I do not know if they are better or so good as those made in France, but as they are of our own manufacture, (and you know the Virginian ladies value themselves on the goodness of their bacon,) and we recollect that it is a dish of which you are fond, she prevailed on me to ask yours and Madame Lafayette's acceptance of them. I wanted to accompany them with an anker of old peach brandy, but could not provide any which I thought of such quality as would do credit to the distilling of this liquor, and therefore I sent none; but after all, both, perhaps, would have been better furniture for your canteen on a long wet march, than for your table in Paris. It is unnecessary to repeat the assurances of the affection and regard with which I am, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, May 24th, 1786.

My dear General,—While I have to lament the distance which separates us, it is an additional and a heartfelt mortification for me to hear so seldom from my beloved and respected friend; and among the many reasons I have to wish for a greater intercourse between the two countries, I do not forget the hope that more frequent opportunities will increase the number of your welcome letters. This is going by the packet, and will be forwarded or delivered by M. Duplessi, a brigadier in the French service, and Count d'Estaing's intimate friend, who intends settling in the State of Georgia. In case it is his good fortune to come to Mount Vernon, I beg leave to present him to you and Mrs. Washington.

I have recommended him to General Greene; and I think that, so far as respects the contracts with the French navy, they may be useful to each other.

By a letter I have just received from Prince Henry, I find the health of his brother declining very fast. The new King of Prussia will then receive some proposals from the emperor respecting Bavaria, that will be rejected. The Empress of Russia is more anxious for the attack of the Ottoman empire than her imperial friend. They are to meet, it is said, by the next spring, in the Crimea. The patriotic spirit prevails in Holland, but is not so united together as were to be wished. I have no great opinion of the pretended commercial treaty between France and Great Britain: this last country is more rancorous than ever towards America; they are far from adopting proper regulations of commerce, and will still less think of giving up the forts. There are only two ways to obtain them: sword in hand, with a view to extend further, and then I am ready; the other, to shut up every port against English commerce until they have complied with the treaty. I do not think America has much to fear in a war with England, and in case she waits for a general one to set her claims forward, she will not have the opportunity, perhaps, for some years.

In my last letter, I have spoken to you of a committee, of which I am a member, and, of course, an advocate for American commerce. The next packet will, I hope, furnish you with some popular resolutions. A great deal of time has been employed in examining the affair of tobacco. I did vigorously attack the farm general, and warmly expostulated for its destruction, but it cannot be cut down, and must fall by the slower method of mines. In the

meanwhile, Mr. Morris's bargain has engrossed the whole consumption of France at such a price that no American merchant can find the like anywhere. The ministry, to palliate the evil, have obliged the farmers general to purchase, annually, from twelve to fifteen thousand hogsheads of American tobacco, besides Mr. Morris's invoices, on the same conditions which he has obtained. By those means Morris's contract will not be broken, but the monopoly is in a measure avoided, and it has been resolved not to make any more bargains of that kind.

In a few days, my dear general, I will go to the new harbour of Cherbourg, and from thence, with the minister of the navy, to Brest and Rochefort. I will also visit my country-seat in Auvergne; perhaps make a tour through Holland, and certainly spend the month of September in Alsace, with the French troops that are under the inspection of my father-in-law, the Duke d'Ayen. I will also examine the grounds of the last campaign of Marechal de Turenne.

The queen is pregnant, and will be laying in about the month of July. Count de Charlus, now called Duc de Castries, is commandant in second of the gendarmerie, which is commanded by his father.

Adieu, my dearest and most respected general; present my respects and those of Madame de Lafayette and family to Mrs. Washington, and accept of them yourself, with that warm and paternal friendship with which I have the happiness to be honoured by you. Remember me to your respected mother, to all your relations and our friends, and think often of your adopted son, who has the honour to be, most respectfully and affectionately, your devoted friend.

Paris, Wednesday evening, Aug. 1786.

THE great trial is at length decided* ; the cardinal is discharged from his accusation, and that is the best thing that could have happened to him. Madame de Lamothe whipped and branded ; Mademoiselle Oliva dismissed from court ; Cagliostro discharged from all accusation ; but I hope to send you the verdict, which I am expecting each moment from M. de Lamoignon. I know not how the turn this affair has taken can change the position of the Baron de Breteuiel. His enemies will undoubtedly think they have gained a great advantage over him. I went to-day to Saint Ouen, with Madame de Lauzun and Madame de Staël ; we had dined at M. Neckar's, and I afterwards paid a visit to M. de Nivernois, whom I did not find at home, but for whom I left a little project for reforming the criminal code formed by M. de Condorcet, and which is calculated to agitate the blood of the keeper of the seals. I have rather taken this step to tranquillize my own conscience, than in the hope of obtaining anything. My project on Cayenne offers better prospects. The last letters I received were very favourable ones. I intend to make another fruitless effort upon M. de Calonne, by asking him for small states for our province of Auvergne. That would be a fine field for the eloquence of the Seigneur de ———.† I am convinced his first speech at the states would form a pendant with his first quadrille at the Palais Royal.

* The trial of the necklace : see note to a letter of the 1st of January, 1783.

† Probably de Saint Romain. The Seigneur de Saint Romain was M. de Lafayette himself, and he sometimes jokingly

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, October 26th, 1786.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—To one who so tenderly loves you, who so happily enjoyed the times we have past together, and who never, on any part of the globe, even in his own house, could feel himself so properly at home as in your family, it must be confessed that an irregular lengthy correspondence is very insufficient. I beseech you, in the name of our friendship, of that paternal concern of yours for my happiness, not to miss any opportunity to let me hear from you my dear general.

I have been travelling through some garrison towns, in order to preserve the habit of seeing troops and their tactics. Now I am mostly at Fontainebleau, where the court is residing for a few weeks. The inclosed letter from the minister to Mr. Jefferson will, I hope, prove agreeable to the United States. Our committee will go on this winter, and I will endeavour to propose such measures as may be thought advantageous. Mr. Jefferson is a most able and respected representative, and such a man as makes me happy to be his aide-de-camp. Congress has made a choice very favourable to their affairs.

The treaty of commerce between France and England is made, but not yet ratified. They are to treat each other like the most favoured *European* nation; so that America is safe. Newspapers will

gave himself that name, as will be afterwards seen by the reader. Saint Romain is in Auvergne: it was the manor of the Marshal de Lafayette.

acquaint you with the Dutch quarrels. It is strange, to see so many people so angry on so small a spot without bloodshed; but parties are at the same time supported in their claims, and cramped in their motions, by the neighbouring powers. France sides with the patriots; the new King of Prussia interests himself in behalf of the stadtholder, his brother-in-law, and so does England under-hand; but the republicans are so strong, and the stadtholder is such a blockhead, that it will turn out to the advantage of the former. No present appearance of a war in Germany. The Russians and Turks are quarrelling, but will not so soon make a war. The empress is going to the Crimea, where, it is said, she will meet the emperor. She had given me polite hints that I should go to Petersburgh; I have answered with a demand to go to the Crimea, which has been granted. So that if the affair of the forts, which I think must be taken, does not more agreeably occupy me, I will set out in the first days of February for the Crimea, and return by Constantinople and the Archipelago. I will refer to the hints given in a former letter about those forts, which, if timely advertised, would carry me quite a different and more pleasing course.

I have been so much affected, my dear general, and so deeply mourning for the heavy loss which the United States, and ourselves particularly, have had to support, while our great and good friend, General Greene, has been snatched from a country to which he was an honour, that I feel a comfort in condoling with one who knew so well his value, and will, of course, so much have lamented the loss.

There is between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams a diversity of opinion respecting the Algerines.

Adams thinks a peace must be purchased from them; Mr. Jefferson finds it as cheap and more honourable to cruise against them. I incline to the latter opinion, and think it possible to form an alliance between the United States, Naples, Rome, Venice, Portugal, and some other powers, each giving a sum of money, not very large, whereby a common armament may disturb the Algerines at any time. Congress ought to give Mr. Jefferson and Adams ample powers to regulate in their names for such a confederacy.

You will be pleased to hear that I have great hopes of seeing the affairs of the protestants in this kingdom put on a better footing; not such, by far, as it ought to be, but much mended from the absurd and cruel laws of Louis the Fourteenth.

I hope your jackass, with two females, and a few pheasants and red partridges, have arrived safe.

Adieu, my dear general; my best and tenderest respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to the one who was formerly Master Tub, and now must be a big boy, and also to the young ladies. Be pleased to pay my affectionate compliments to George and his lady, to Doctor and Miss Shears, Doctor Ewig, Doctor Griffith, your brothers, Mrs. Lewis, to your venerable mother, to all our friends, and often think of your most devoted friend, your adopted son, who, with all the affection and respect which you know are so deeply rooted in his heart, has the honour to be, my dear general yours.

A new instance of the goodness of the State of Virginia has been given me, by the placing of my bust at the Hotel-de-Ville of this city.* The situa-

* The 27th of September, Mr. Jefferson wrote to the provost of the merchants and sheriffs of the city of Paris, to request, in the name of the State of Virginia, that the magistrates of the city

tion of the other bust will be the more pleasing to me, as, while it places me within the capital of the state, I will be eternally by the side of, and paying an everlasting homage to, the statue of my beloved general.

I have received the hams, and am much obliged for the kind attention of Mrs. Washington. The first was introduced three days ago, at a dinner composed of Americans, where our friend Chastellux was invited. They arrived in the best order. Madame de Lafayette and the little family beg their best respects to Mrs. Washington and yourself.

(EXTRACT.)

Paris, Tuesday morning.

My dinner yesterday went off extremely well. Mr. Pitt was supported by five Englishmen, and, ladies included, there were a dozen rebels.* After having talked a little on politics, Mr. Pitt set out for London, and left me much delighted with his talents, modesty, noble feelings, and character, which are not less remarkable than the part he is called upon to act. The parliamentary attack prevents his stopping at Paris, and he pretends that he cannot flatter himself with seeing me in London, whilst England remains a monarchy. In spite of this witticism, I feel strongly tempted to go there

would become depositaries of the second bust which that state had caused to be executed. The 28th, with the approbation of the king, the bust was accepted and placed in one of the halls of the Hotel-de-Ville. It was brought over by Mr. Short, during the absence of Mr. Jefferson, who was ill, and received by M. Lepelletier de Morfontaine, provost of the merchants.

* Mr. Pitt came to Paris at the period of the journey to Fontainebleau, which renders the date of this letter the same as that of the preceding.

some day. I should pay but little court to the king, and lean for support on the opposition. Since we have won the game, I own I have much pleasure in becoming acquainted with Englishmen. The humiliating circumstances of the war previous to the last one, and their insolence during peace, made me feel a sentiment of aversion for them, which was only increased by the horrors with which they stained the American soil, and the alliance of their name with that of tyranny, made it sound unpleasantly in my ears, but I am now glad to be thrown in their society, and whether I consider myself as a Frenchman, as an American soldier, or even as a simple individual, I find myself unembarrassed in the midst of that haughty nation. My conversion is not, however, quite complete. Without being a sufficient coxcomb to treat them as personal enemies, I cannot forget that they are inimical to French prosperity and glory, for my patriotism may astonish the public, as I have been told that my ardent feelings have already done.

ASSEMBLY OF THE NOTABLES,

1787.*

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF AUVERGNE.

The state of the finances, and the necessity of making up their deficit, having occasioned the convocation of the assembly, composed of a hundred and forty-four members, chosen by the king, in the three orders of the state, and of the presidents and attorneys-general of the sovereign courts, it was divided into seven committees, of which each one was presided over by a brother of the king, or a prince of the blood. Lafayette found himself placed in the one presided over by the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth. The fol-

* This account of the part taken by M. de Lafayette in the labours of the assembly of the notables, as well as the details of the French revolution, which will ensue, are extracted from a collection already quoted from, entitled, "A collection of several speeches of General Lafayette, from the year 1784 to the year 1829." M. de Calonne, comptroller-general, having acknowledged and proclaimed the *deficit*, proposed, by way of filling it up, a new edict, which the parliament refused to register. He then advised and obtained the convocation of an assembly of notables. The last assembly of the kind had been held by Henry IV. This one, convoked by an order issued the 29th of December, 1786, met the 22nd February, 1787.

lowing extracts have been taken from the documents of the assembly, and from the speeches of the Count d'Artois, in the committee, printed in 1787 and 1790.

We find these words in the document of the 24th of March, 1787 :—"The members of the committee are of opinion they cannot terminate their observations in a manner more analogous to the paternal views of the king, and more consistent with the spirit which dictated the various reflections they had the honour of addressing to his Majesty, on the regulation of the duty upon salt, than by seconding earnestly the proposal made by the Marquis de Lafayette, and entreating his Majesty to have the extreme kindness to order, by the same law which abrogates that duty upon salt, that all the unfortunate persons who have been loaded on that account with irons, or dragged to the galleys, should be immediately restored to their families and freedom."

M. de Nicolai, president of the chamber of accounts, having spoken with some warmth of the arrangements of the domains that were prejudicial to the state, and especially of those that will be spoken of hereafter, Lafayette and the Bishop de Langres added some observations in support of his arguments. The next day, the Count d'Artois said, he had repeated to the king all that passed, and that his Majesty had observed, that any person permitting himself to make such very serious accusations, ought, at least, to sign them. M. de Nicolai remained silent, which obliged Lafayette to bring himself forward. Those who are acquainted with the character of the Bishop de Langres, will feel that he did not allow him to remain without support.

Lafayette requested the august president to thank the king for the permission of which he would not long delay taking advantage, and he read to the committee the following note, which he also signed :—

My Lord,—The king desires us only to point out any particular abuses, when we add to them our signatures. The opinions I expressed last Saturday, (March 13th,) have obtained for us this permission, of which I take advantage, my lord, with the zeal, impartiality, and freedom, which must ever actuate my conduct.

I said that it was necessary to attack, rather than encourage, that monster, stock-jobbing. It is generally believed that the government has given several millions in support of stock-jobbers. His Majesty has deigned to assure us, he no longer supported such a system. I only became the interpreter of public alarm.

I proposed, and still propose, to the committee, that his Majesty be entreated to order a serious examination, by persons uninterested in the case, of all the king's shares in the domains, as well as of all the titles, shares, sales, exchanges, or purchases that are, or ought to be, registered on the *chamber of accounts*, in such a manner that his Majesty may know the value of the gifts he has made, retract prejudicial agreements, which have not yet been liquidated, and break off those in which, since his accession to the throne, he has been robbed to any serious amount.

And to bring forward some examples in support of our fears, I have quoted the agreement of Lorient, because the public has been shocked at hearing that, for the manor of Lorient, and the estate of Châtel, which are not together worth more than 180,000 livres a year, the Prince de Guémenée has had the principality of Dombes, valued at 40,000 livres a year, without reckoning, it is said, 80,000 livres paid to M de Laubespine, who had obtained the concession of this sum, and 12,500,000 livres payable in the course of twenty-five years.

I quoted the exchange of the county of Sancerre, because I feared eight thousand acres of wood had been paid for it, of which three thousand and three or four hundred, in the county of Blaisois, are alone worth, it is said, the whole county of Sancerre, and that the public voice adds to those eight thousand acres, a great quantity of land in various provinces, and a large

sum of money given to the Baron d'Espagnac, to whom those lands formerly belonged.

I regret to say, I fear that the king has acquired, since his accession to the throne, about 700,000 livres a year, in lands and forests, which he paid for with about 72,000 livres a year, of which nearly 50 are in life interests, and that he granted on these occasions, either in ready money, or at a given period, more than forty-five millions.

It is possible that I am mistaken; but great disorder supposes great depredation. I ask, why the ministers of finance propose to the king purchases or exchanges which, not being for his interest, can only be for the interest of private individuals?

I might also ask, why the king should be induced to purchase domains, when it is thought advisable to sell those he already possesses?

I belong neither to the king's council, nor to the chamber of accounts, nor to the administration of the domains; I cannot therefore prove the truth of what I am now pointing out; but my patriotism has taken alarm, and I solicit a serious examination of the case.

Since the opinion I now express will be signed by me, before it be transmitted to his Majesty, I repeat with greater confidence a reflection I have already made; which is, that the millions that are dissipated are raised by impost, and that an impost can only be justified by the real exigences of the state; that all the millions given up to cupidity or depredation are the fruit of the sweat, tears, and perhaps blood, of the nation, and that the calculation of all the misery caused, to levy sums so very lightly squandered, is an alarming one for a person whose feelings are so kind and just as we know those of his Majesty were formed by nature."

The following speeches were delivered after the retirement of M. de Calonne.* It may be seen in some of the memoirs of the day, that Lafayette had expressed to a few influential members of that assembly the project he had formed of taking advan-

* He retired the 20th of April, and was replaced by M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, who was at first chief of the council of finance, and two months afterwards prime minister.

tage of the very extraordinary situation in which that assembly of notables was placed, who, without possessing any legal powers, found themselves necessary to the government, to oblige the king, before granting him any assistance, to acknowledge formally some specified constitutional principles. This intention was confided to Messrs. de Brienne; but there is every reason to believe that it only appeared to the Archbishop of Toulouse the means of hastening his nomination to the ministry. The project was defeated. It would be, however, easy to prove, by the details of Lafayette's relations with the public men of his own time, that he always considered liberty as the thing most requisite for man; a right, for the want of which nothing on earth could compensate, in a word, a condition necessary to the enjoyment of life and the welfare of society (as he often himself expressed it); and he always encouraged the slightest hope of obtaining, whilst seeking for this important aim, the peaceful concurrence of existing authorities.

The three following opinions, in relation to the *deficit*, will give the idea of the first wishes that preceded and brought on the revolution :—

I.

I always regretted that the labours upon the deficit were not concerted in the committee, and above all, that the foundations upon which they rest should be only quicksands exposed to countless variations.

The natural result of this want of concert is, that the opinions of the committee are as inexact as the statements delivered by the government, and as variable as the questions proposed, and consequently, that the answers relating to those statements do not accord together. I think it is important to explain to the public in what manner the ministerial accounts led us to such uncertain results, and how the different efforts we separately

made to rectify them, necessarily produced seven views of different results.*

It is not by examining imposts, to which our general observations cannot give the slightest sanction, that the members of the assembly would have the misery of fixing the public charges. That painful duty belongs to the representatives of the nation, and, in their absence, to the sovereign courts: but by voting in a positive manner upon the share of the deficit, we should induce the government to a first establishment of imposts equal to the whole space we should leave between the loans or retrenchments, and it is that barrier of the deficit which it is difficult but very important to place in a proper light.

It is by comparing the information that each one of us may be enabled to give, by making inquiries that will indeed be valuable if they tend to diminish the impost; that we may present in their true point of view the distinction we have made relating to the deficit. It appears to me that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the connexion between the receipts and daily expenses. I do not despair, my lord, of seeing that portion of the deficit which is dependent on the impost, very much reduced.

I know, my lord, what that reduction would appear, when compared to the dissipation and luxury of the court and higher classes of society. But let us follow those millions when they are dispersed in small cottages, and we shall behold the widow and orphan's mite, the last vexation which forces the labourer to quit his plough, and condemns the family of an honest artisan to pauperism; and if we examine, for a short time, the details of that cruel harvest, we shall feel the necessity of comparing the expenses with the receipts.

II.

At the end of the last reign, my lord, at a time when the court was not economical, or the minister of finance very scrupulous, the expense amounted to three hundred and ninety-eight millions. The Abbe Terray himself said, in 1774, "I cannot add any farther to the receipt, which I have increased more than sixty millions, nor diminish the debt, from whence I have deducted nearly twenty millions," And he ended his ac-

* The *deficit* valued at first by M. de Calonne, at 112 millions, and afterwards at 125, was brought by the notables and M. de Brienne to 140 millions.

count by declaring, that "if the moments allowed for deliberation and economy were neglected, the abyss would speedily be opened."

Since that recent period, my lord, the increase of the impost, in some provinces especially, has added to the misery of the people; the augmentation of expense, which was out of proportion with any possible calculations, had swelled to nearly two hundred millions, and the abyss of the deficit, upon which was suspended the state itself, no longer permitted the government to seek expedients instead of remedies.

Everything, including even honour, would have been lost, if the king had not resolved to take measures of economy and melioration, tending to alleviate the burthens of a nation already borne down by suffering; but as the inefficiency of the actual system has been but too clearly proved, as it is only during the existence of a good administration that it is possible to elevate a barrier against depredations, and introduce a more enlightened policy, I think that we ought to propose to the king the following measures, which would prevent a future reproduction of the deficit:—

1st. After having introduced in military and domestic establishments that economy which is founded upon real utility, his Majesty should be entreated to fix the necessary sums for the support of his household, that of the queen and of the royal family, for buildings, private gifts, and, in short, all personal expenses, which bear no direct relation with public affairs.

Some committees have justly requested the destruction of the captainships, which are not essential to the king's amusements, and that of those royal houses in which he pays, without enjoying them, for preserving the idle fancies of former generations. Amongst the lamentable ways of spending money, I shall venture to mention state prisons, which the king, as well as the laws of the kingdom, would disavow, if he were acquainted with their inutility and danger.

In respect to future expenses, an important means of precaution would be to give to each employment a settled appointment, to suppress all rights of place and favours, which lead to reversions, and to forbid all managers of public affairs from making any private use of the property they may administer.

2nd. The royal expenses being thus fixed by his Majesty, those of the department should be settled according to the forms and regulations agreed upon. The same forms should be observed for receiving the accounts of the departments,

which, with the exception of that of foreign affairs, should be communicated every year to the public in an official manner.

It will be sufficient to tell the king that, since his accession to the throne, the chamber of accounts has received no statement concerning the royal treasure, and that a great number of private accounts have remained unexamined, for him to feel the necessity of putting an immediate end to an abuse of so dangerous a kind. And as, by the proposed divisions, no useful expense will be subtracted from either of the departments, his Majesty should be entreated to prescribe those *receipts of ready money*, which are necessarily comprised in one of the above classes.

I cannot, while speaking of the departments, avoid mentioning that, if that of war be liable to reform, it is not less necessary to increase the food of the soldiers, which is even insufficient for their support.

3rd. In some committees it has been proposed to establish a committee from the different states, that would be authorized by his Majesty, to look over the accounts that are presented to him every six months, as well as to fix the expenses of the following year, and examine the new proposals that may be brought before the sovereign courts to be registered.

The demand for that committee, on which point I agree entirely with the opinion expressed by the committee of *Monsieur*, or for any other measure still more efficient, if possible, to extend knowledge and confirm confidence, appears to me an essential precaution; but nothing can supersede the publicity of accounts, in any agreed form, which I consider absolutely necessary.

4th. The pensions and gratifications, attached to different departments, are intended to recompense services or encourage talents; to publish such acts of benevolence is but adding twofold to their value, at the same time that it prevents those improper gifts which any person would blush to obtain or grant.

The homage rendered to the munificence of the sovereign must be dear to the grateful heads of those whom his bounty has enriched.

5th. The last edict of his Majesty gives such satisfactory assurances respecting mortgages, which are in future to be liable to loans, and respecting the cessation of that impost, in proportion to the extinction or reimbursement, that it is sufficient for us to entreat him to confirm that gracious act; and although we should have, in this case, less reason to fear that the loans be exceeded or extended, the committee might con-

jure his Majesty to prescribe in future that dangerous sort of trick, which can only be practised without his knowledge, by ordering his courts to prosecute such delinquencies according to the rigour of the law, and rendering all those persons responsible who have participated in them with full acquaintance of the case.

6th. It is not less essential to arrest at once the custom of anticipations, that sole and dangerous source of profit for illusive credit and for the gambling of private banks, that the financial companies have usurped at the expense of the public fortune.

7th. In short, my lord, whilst the king is bringing into effect those above-mentioned retrenchments, and others also which he hopes to achieve, and announces to us precautions to be taken against the reproduction of the deficit, we shall endeavour, in our ardent zeal, to cover the remainder of the deficit by the painful, and I may say almost miraculous, measure of an augmented impost. But as a portion of those expenses is fixed for a period not far removed; as the provincial assemblies are to be engaged in equalizing the public charges, and of modifying the most imperious ones; and as it is more natural and more agreeable to embrace at present the rational hope presented to us than to turn our eyes towards the past, I conceive that the new imposts upon which we are now consulted ought to have a shorter term, that his Majesty may afterwards, by adopting the most convenient form to ascertain the success of the essays he will prescribe in the different provinces, combine in his wisdom the regulations most useful to the happiness of the whole nation.

III.

I have always thought that precautions against any future deficit ought to precede those that may be taken to fill up the present deficit. If the committee replies for the last time to the questions relative to the impost, it can only be in the firm and well-founded conviction that the assembly will receive from the king the complement and full detail of his projects against the dangers of an arbitrary administration.

In truth, my lord, sad experience has proved to his Majesty that his own good intentions are not sufficient to preserve order in public affairs, and that experience, which has cost the nation very dear, will never allow it to be satisfied but by a complete new order of things. This new order might be found by consulting the constituent rights of the state, still more than the

demands of the committee; and the more moderate these last appear, the more right have we to expect that the king will enable the notables to console their fellow-citizens by decisive and accurate results, very different from those of the loans and imposts of which they must confirm the sad account.

There is another truth, my lord, which we must express without hesitation. Whatever may be the personal love of the nation for his Majesty, it would be dangerous to fancy that their resources are inexhaustible; they are even now exhausted but too completely; and to mention only the province to which I belong, which suffers, in truth, peculiarly from the inequality of the impost and the inattention of government, I may venture to assure the king that, at this present moment, its labourers are abandoning the plough, its artisans their shops; and that its most industrious citizens, deprived of what they have earned at home, or brought from foreign lands, will soon have no other alternative but that of pauperism or emigration, and that in that position of the kingdom, he cannot increase the burthens of the people without reducing them to the lowest degree of misery and despair.

The two important objects presented to us are pecuniary supplies and stamps, for by proposing a tax proportioned to the rents, as a third line of imposts which we are permitted to dismiss, we were not expected to furnish that additional portion of our painful labour, upon which my opinion, I own, is not yet sufficiently formed.

At this moment, my lord, each of us shudders as he beholds the threatening preparations of imposts, which appear to wait only for a signal to fall heavily upon the alarmed nation. You have often repeated how necessary they were, but I appeal to your own heart, now that, no longer able to slacken our pace, nor turn away our eyes, we are obliged to fix our attention upon those vast preparations of public calamities which are on the point of invading our unhappy country. May such a disastrous period, ever contrasting with the devouring luxury and mechanical dissipation of the court, make as durable an impression on those who can avert the evil as on those who become its innocent victims!

Fortunately for this assembly, my lord, it is not called upon to sanction any new imposts. The right of fixing the public charges belongs alone to the representatives of the nation. The imposts only assume a legal consistency when registered by the sovereign courts. The assembly of notables, even when they meet together, having observed the execution of all re-

trenchments, examined contested statements, and, in short, ascertained the real deficit, can but speak of the impositions in an indefinite manner; but the different committees, after having obtained those sixty-three statements, the result of the knowledge and calculations of the government, have seen that the government itself could give neither explanation nor guarantee concerning them; without agreeing amongst each other upon the share borne by the real wants of the state, they only perceived the existence of a considerable deficit.

I will not repeat here the reflections I have already submitted to the committee upon the distinctions necessary to be made when examining that deficit; but I conform doubtless to the opinion of the majority when I say that, after having approved of the resource of the loan, which is not submitted to us, we have declared that the reduction of the expense ought to precede the augmentation of the receipt, and that, if it appeared to us necessary to fill up the deficit by an impost, it was only after all possible resources of retrenchments and improvements had been exhausted.

The appointment of the present administration was immediately followed by an assurance of saving forty millions by economy and improvements, and the announcement of the hope that his majesty might go still further. All those persons who possess the confidence of the king, will concur, doubtless, in the fulfilment of this hope. Those belonging to the court, upon whom the eyes of the people will be turned, will perform the duty they owe their country, their sovereign, and their own honour; when those retrenchments shall be made, when the expenses of the court shall be on a level with those of other European courts, there may remain, perhaps, a vast deficit, which, when other resources fail, must undoubtedly be filled up by the sacrifices of the people, provided their duration be short and accurately fixed.

I believe, therefore, my lord, that the constitution and knowledge of the assembly only permit it to add to the preceding advice some general reflections upon the different imposts of which the king perceives the necessity, and a demand for the indispensable condition, that those imposts, whatever may be their amount, may be presented to, and registered by, the sovereign courts. Whilst referring to the labour of the commissioners upon these points, I am anxious that the stamp duty should not weigh heavily upon proprietors who possess but small fortunes; that it should not restrain the just defence of the poor man, by taxing memoirs tending to his justification;

that it should not be empowered to punish incompetency, because justice cannot be subordinate to fiscality; that it should be rectified according to the representations of the provinces and commercial men. But I should not fear seeing the impost weighing on those commissions which vanity solicits; on those places at court which occasion, it is said, fifteen hundred changes a year, and on the changes of those captainships which, in the generality of Paris alone, cost agriculture about ten millions,* because there is no harm in taxing things which are of themselves a great calamity.

In consequence of these observations, my lord, in case the establishment of those two imposts be judged necessary, we must solicit in the most precise manner—

1st. That a circumstantial list of the projects of economy and amelioration, with an explanation of the nature and produce of each one separately, and forming a sum of forty millions at least, and still more, if possible, be placed at the head of the first edict relating to the new imposition.

2nd. That the amount of the deficit, verified upon new statements, for the accuracy of which the administration be made itself responsible, may be also added, for on this point we have been hitherto unable to form any distinct idea.

3rd. That his majesty may deign to fix in a circumstantial and precise manner the gradual decrease of the imposts which has been announced to us.

4th. That the verification of the receipts on the stamp duty be submitted to the provincial assemblies, that they may judge of the produce of those imposts.

Such are the precautions I have thought it necessary to add to those we have already demanded; not that the present administration inspires me with a feeling of distrust, which is equally foreign to my heart and reason, and which would be less excusable in this committee than in any other one;† but men pass away, my lord, and the sacred interest of the public weal rises above all vicissitudes. Who knows whether vile intrigue and petty interest (those weapons that often prove too powerful for the strongest resolutions) are not lying in wait to

* The Count d'Artois having interrupted Lafayette when he named that sum, the latter declared he had heard it from the *Intendant* of Paris himself.—(Note of M. de Lafayette.)

† The Archbishop of Toulouse was a member of that committee.

subvert all reform? Have we not too often seen the government, by a change of administrators, consecrate and deny in turn the same assertions, engagements, and principles?

It is worthy of the goodness of the king, my lord, to turn his thoughts to a project of relief for the people. To reply in a proper manner to his paternal solicitude, we will speak to him of the duty on salt and that on the funds, if it were not acknowledged that the operations proposed by the committee on those two imposts might be executed without any loss for the revenue, and that the nation would gain from thence immense profits, and the suppression of countless vexations and iniquities. We may denounce to the king lotteries, that guilty species of gambling of which the government is itself the banker, that receptacle of corruption of which it becomes the instigator; and also the stamp upon leather, which has ruined the tanners of the kingdom, and which renders it so difficult to distinguish fraud from innocence. But the most important denunciation is that of *la taille*, an unequal, arbitrary, and a ruinous tax, of which my ideas upon the present deficit led me to hope an immediate diminution. If the country people should possess no members in this assembly, let us prove to them, at least, that they have not been wanting in friends and defenders.

It is with alacrity, my lord, that I adopt the opinion of M. de Castillon,* upon the contributions that we should demand from luxury and favour, as well as upon the present succours which, without losing sight of the principle of justice and equality in the assessments, appear to me to unite the interests of the provinces to those of the government.

And, to resume, I am of opinion, that the assembly is not constituted in such a manner as to be able to determine the public charges; that the committee has beheld with pain such a considerable deficit, whilst it perceives with gratitude that his majesty will fill up one part by *forty millions* of retrenchments and improvements, and still more, if possible; that as another portion, relating to the reimbursements at a fixed period, will be filled up by loans, the remainder of the deficit, after every other possible way of closing it has been exhausted, must, without doubt, be filled up by an impost; but the want of accuracy in the calculations which have been submitted to the committee, and the want of knowledge relating to the labour of retrenchments and improvements, do not permit that assembly to give

* Leblanc de Castillon, attorney-general of the parliament of Aix.

counsels to his majesty concerning the exigences of the state in relation to the impost; that after having examined the projects of the king respecting the supplies, substituted to the two twentieths and to the stamp duty, the committee presents these observations to his majesty, taking the liberty to insist upon the precautions which it appears to them ought to be added to the measures proposed for filling up the deficit, and placed at the head of the first edict bearing any impost. They subjoin to these reflections upon the duty on salt and the funds, the denunciation of the lotteries, the tax upon leather, and more especially that of *la taille*, and confiding fully in the representations of the provinces and of the sovereign courts, they express their wish that the advice of M. de Castillon may be considered by the government as advantageous in its execution, and as conformable to the interests of the province, as to that of the public fortune.

But, in any case, the labours of the assembly, the salutary influence of provincial assemblies, the talents and virtues of the present administration, must bring on a new order of things, of which the enumeration might be contained in a private memorial, which I propose presenting to his majesty. As credit must be established on a more natural basis; as the diminution of the interest upon money must lower also that of the public debt in the proportion of seven to four, as the simplification of the receipt must deliver the State from the companies of finance, whose engagements end in five years, it appears to me that is the period we ought to entreat his majesty to fix upon, immediately, as the one to which the accounts and all operations should refer, and entreat him also to consolidate for ever the happy result of this measure by the convocation of a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

When we beheld the effect produced by these two words, when thus pronounced, for the first time, we should scarcely have expected them to re-appear about two years afterwards, with a splendour and power that awakened not only France but the world itself. "What, sir!" said the Count d'Artois, "you ask for the convocation of the general states!" "Yes, my lord, and even more than that." "You wish me then to write and carry to the king—M. de Lafayette, moving to convoke the general

states?'" "Yes, my lord." The prince had only the trouble of writing the name of Lafayette. The silence became general, and the idea that had just been advanced, the expression of *more than* the general states,—that is to say, of a *national assembly*, —only appeared, at that time, to the committee and to the society at Paris, the idle expression of an inconsiderate wish. That denomination of 'National Assembly' was adopted, as is well known, at Versailles, during the first meetings of the constituent assembly.

In the official documents of the same assembly of the notables, may be seen an allusion to two speeches of Lafayette: the one to restore a civil state to the protestants; the other to reform the criminal code. The first of these measures would have fallen to the ground, had it not been supported by the Bishop de Langres.* "I second," said that prelate, "the motion of M. de Lafayette, from motives different from his own: he has spoken as a philosopher, I shall speak as a bishop, and I shall say that I prefer temples to protestant churches, and ministers to preachers." The demand relating to the criminal code obtained the same success. Some members subjoined observations upon other edicts, and the Duke d'Harcourt subjoined a motion relative to nobility which was quite foreign to the other subjects of discussion. We shall only quote the portion of the adopted measures relative to the protestants, proposed by Lafayette, and the compilation, which, from the observations of some members, extended to other edicts than those he had first mentioned. The committee retrenched from

* M. de la Luzerne, died a cardinal.

the compilation this phrase, in which they fancied they discovered a sort of ironical meaning :—

"The clergy," said Lafayette, "impressed with the great principles that the fathers of the church have conferred honour on themselves by professing, will doubtless approve of this act of justice." They probably recollected that all the assemblies of the clergy, even when they were presided over by prelates professing incredulity, like the Archbishops of Toulouse and Narbonne, had never ceased demanding the vigorous execution of the atrocious edicts issued against the protestants under the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.

MEETING OF THE TWENTY-THIRD OF MAY.

"M. de Lafayette has proposed to supplicate his majesty to grant a civil state to the protestants, and to order the reform of the criminal laws. He has requested permission to read a project relative to this subject.

"That project having been read, the Count d'Artois observed that, as the subject was completely foreign to all the subjects that had been presented to the committee, it would be exceeding the power of the notables to pay any attention to it; that he would, however, willingly consent to speak of it to the king, if such were the wish of the committee. He demanded, consequently, their opinion.

"They adopt unanimously the motion of the Marquis de Lafayette, and they request also that the reform to be made in the edicts be not solely confined to that of the criminal edicts, but embrace also the civil edicts, those relating to commerce, waters, and forests.

MEASURE TAKEN THE TWENTY-FOURTH OF MAY, AND PRESENTED TO THE KING.

"The committee, deeply impressed with the warmest and most respectful confidence in the equity and goodness of the king, think they ought not to separate without soliciting his attention to three subjects,—foreign, it is true, to the labours of the committee, but all so important to humanity, justice, the good of

the state, and the glory of his majesty, that he will not, they feel convinced, disapprove of this last step, dictated by the most disinterested zeal, and conformable to the wishes of the nation :—

"1st. A portion of our citizens, who have not the happiness of professing the catholic religion, find themselves condemned to a sort of civil death.

"The members of the committee know too well the feelings of the king, not to be convinced that he wishes to make all his subjects, of whom he is the common father, love true religion; they know that truth supports itself by its own force; that error alone need employ constraint; and that his majesty unites a disposition to toleration and benevolence, to all the other virtues that have obtained for him the love of the nation.

"The members of the committee hasten to present to his majesty their petition, that that numerous portion of his subjects may cease to groan under a proscription equally opposed to the general interests of the population, national industry, and all political and moral principles.

"2nd. The members of the committee take also the liberty of supplicating his majesty to order that the civil and criminal laws of the years 1667 and 1670, those upon the waters and forests of 1669, and those upon commerce of 1673, laws bearing upon the subjects, most important to public prosperity, the security of fortune, and the honour and lives of the citizens, should be carefully examined, that the French legislature may attain the highest degree of perfection, by making the changes that the remote age in which those laws were formed, and the difference of time, and customs, may render requisite, and of which the progress of knowledge must secure the utility."

The remainder of the measure relates solely to the motion of M. d'Harcourt.

This proposal of Lafayette at the assembly of notables, was only the end of a negotiation undertaken in the year 1785, to re-establish protestants in their civil rights. The present generation will scarcely be able to conceive that, under the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., epochs of politeness, knowledge, and elegance, a portion of the French population was condemned to the most intolerant, barbarous, and cruel code, by which marriage, beyond the pale of the religion of the state, (an

expression which some have endeavoured since to re-establish,) was in the eye of law a state of concubinage, giving birth only to bastards; the property of protestants was considered as belonging to the first relation, who chose to denounce the heresy of those whose legitimate heir he wished to become; and this was so completely the case, that, at a recent period, the parliament of Toulouse could find no other method of eluding the effect of a trial of this kind than by allowing to the despoiled family damages and interest equal to the amount of the fortune which fell to the share of the denunciator. This system of persecution of the protestants was not only enforced at the period of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, of which Bossuet, in the funeral sermon of Chancellor Letellier, makes such a pompous eulogy; but the ministry of the infamous Dubois, in the midst of the orgies of the regency, beheld a continuance of the same legal rigours. The devout Madame de Maintenon wrote to her brother that she advised him to purchase the confiscated lands of the protestants, which were selling at a very low price; but it was in the boudoir of Madame de Prie, mistress of the duke, first minister of Louis XV., that aggravations were added to the most intolerant measures. Long before the reign of Louis XV., M. de Beauveau, commander of Languedoc, performed an act of courage, by paying a visit to two unmarried ladies, condemned to imprisonment for life, for having been present at a protestant sermon, and by asking the king to grant them their liberty. Louis XV. himself, in the midst of his debaucheries, was, during the last years of his life, much alarmed by hearing that a little girl belonging to his harem of the *parc aux cerfs* was a protestant, and it is well known that Madame de ——, to

attain the honour of becoming his mistress, began by making herself a convert to the catholic faith. Even under Louis XVI. was it not impossible for Turgot and Malesherbes, ministers at that time, to obtain that the vow of *exterminating heretics* should be suppressed in the ceremony of the coronation? It is sufficient, as we have before said, to read the remonstrances of the clergy of France, to judge of the state of the case in this respect, and when, in consequence of the demand made by the second committee of notables, an edict was issued less unfavourable to the protestants, the opposition that edict encountered from the parliament of Paris is known, as well as that the fanatical address of Desprémenil to the crucifix of the high chamber, found many warm admirers. It was in 1785 that Lafayette, on pretence of discussing some commercial affairs with the United States, repaired from Chavaniac, his native place, to Nismes. He there paid a visit to the aged Paul Rabaut, who had been so long the object of the most violent persecutions, and who, after having listened to him, repeated the *nunc dimittis* of Simeon. It was agreed that when Lafayette had prepared measures in Paris and Versailles, Rabaut de Saint Etienne, the eldest son of Paul, and a minister himself, should proceed to the capital. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld of that period, that great citizen, who was afterwards assassinated at Gisors, the 10th of August, and the illustrious Malesherbes, who was most tenderly attached to Rochefoucauld and his friend Lafayette, were the first persons to whom Lafayette spoke of this project. They then called upon the Baron de Breteuil, minister of the interior, who adopted their ideas of simple toleration. M. de Rulhière was charged with publishing a memoir upon the subject. The period at length arrived, in which Rabaut de

Saint Etienne was to go and rejoin Lafayette at Fontainebleau, to accompany him on a visit to Malesherbes. We wished to give their details, from their having been previous to the part Lafayette bore in the important measure taken by the committee of notables. They contributed, however, to prove, that, to establish perfect religious liberty in France, nothing less than a complete revolution would suffice.

It was at the period of the assembly of the notables of 87 that Lafayette was, one day, present at the Duke d'Harcourt's, governor of the dauphin, when the conversation turned upon the books of history most proper to be placed in the hands of the young prince. "I believe," said he, "that it would be well for him to begin his history of France from the year 1787."

When, in 1788, the nobility of Britanny addressed to Lafayette appeals against the acts of government, he sent them a letter of adhesion, and closed it by saying—"that he associated himself to all opposition to every present or future arbitrary act, which might attaint the rights of the nation in general, and especially those of the inhabitants of Britanny." He concerted with twelve deputies of the nobility sent to Paris for the convocation of the principal Bretons of the court and town, at which he had the right of being present from his mother having been a Breton, and from the greatest part of his fortune being in that province. That protestation was there signed which caused twelve of the noble deputies to be sent to the Bastille, three persons of the court to be disgraced, and Lafayette to be deprived of his command of a military division.*

* The queen having expressed to M. de Lafayette her surprise that, without being a Breton himself, he had taken part in

A second assembly of notables, the 9th of November, 1788, met for the purpose of convoking the general states.* The majority of that assembly appeared at the time so very far behind public opinion, that we may date from that period the fatal contrast of the stationary prejudices of a small section of privileged persons with the gradual development of public reason. The march of national ideas has necessarily been retarded by the deplorable deviations of our days of delirium and misery. One committee alone of that second assembly, that of Monsieur, declared itself for the double representation of the *tiers-etat*, but the other committee had only rejected this measure by a small majority.

A declaration of the king, called *the result of the council*, decided, on the 27th of December of the same year, that the deputies of the *tiers-états* should be equal in number to the deputies of the two first orders when united, and that no change should take place in the institution of the three orders, called on to deliberate separately. The committee of *Monsieur* was the only one amongst the whole assembly of notables of 1788 that voted for what was termed the *doubling of the tiers* at the general states. It was indebted for this glory to the slumber of the old Count de Montboissier, who, called upon to vote, asked his neighbour, La Rochefoucauld, "What do they say?" "They say *yes*," replied La Rochefoucauld. And that *yes* decided the majority.

that resistance, he replied, "That he was a Breton in the same manner as the queen belonged to the house of Austria."

* It closed the 12th of December, 1788.

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF AUVERGNE.

THE Archbishop of Toulouse having succeeded in entering into the king's council, of which he soon became prime minister, found himself in some measure obliged to organize in those provinces that had no *states*, which was the name given to provincial assemblies that had been formerly instituted by M. Necker, for Berry and Upper Guienne, whose first disgrace had prevented his extending this prerogative to the other provinces. Lafayette had demanded that, for the plan of the king's nominating one-half, and the members the other half, a truly elective system should be substituted. The ministers contented themselves by promising its introduction in the inferior assemblies for the year 1791, but other events had occurred at that period.

In the month of August, a parliamentary assembly met at Clermont, composed of the portion of members nominated by the king. Lafayette caused the following measure to be adopted:—

"The members of the assembly have unanimously voted that the president, when giving an account to the king of the labours of the preliminary assembly, be requested to present to his majesty the expression of our gratitude for the salutary and truly patriotic establishment of a provincial assembly, as well as for that of the assemblies that are subordinate to it, and above all, for the equitable and beneficent principle that must regenerate assemblies by a deputation of representatives freely elected by their fellow-citizens.

"If our feelings have been at first excited by the love of our country, the first sentiment of our hearts, we are also deeply impressed with gratitude for the choice his majesty has deigned to make of us, and we entreat the president to express to him, with due humility, our respectful thanks.

"While we receive with pleasure a form of administration as much desired as it is advantageous, we hope that the regulation of it, which has been announced to us, will give a free scope to our zeal, and confer on our assemblies the dignity they require; we

take the liberty of observing, that our province is one of those that has most lately ceased to exercise its right of assembling in states, and, taking into consideration the difference of the functions which it appears intended the assembly should fulfil, with the sacred prerogatives of our states, we think we ought to supplicate his majesty to deign to declare to the province that he understands, as we also understand, that the execution of this new regulation is to interfere in no manner with the primitive rights of Auvergne. It has been likewise decided that the president be requested to offer to the Archbishop of Toulouse, chief of the royal council of finance, the expression of the gratitude of the assembly."

(Signed) MONTAGU, Viscount de BEAUNE.
CROIX, Clerk of the Registers.

The provincial assembly of Auvergne having completed its proper number, and the instructions of government having left to its members the right of being replaced by vote, its operations commenced in the month of November, 1787. One of its first acts was to approve of the deliberation of the preliminary assembly. The president having declared that the observation in relation to the ancient states of Auvergne appeared foreign to its functions, Lafayette proposed to confirm the disapproved reserve by the measure which is found, as well as his speeches, consigned in the official account of that assembly, printed at Clermont, 1787. Those speeches recal some details of the former system of government, which are almost forgotten at the present day.

The government having requested the assembly to solicit an agreement which tended to increase the charges, its members resolved to adopt the measure, but with a reduction, and Lafayette, member of the commission, proposed to deliberate upon the matter, and this advice was followed the 23rd of November.

The answer of the government upon this measure

relative to the agreement was very severe. "The king's commissary," it said, "must at length apprize the assembly that it has exceeded the functions the king allowed it to fulfil under his authority, and that it must, in future, endeavour, with more care and attention, to justify the confidence he has placed in it, and that of the province, of which it might have better stipulated the true interests."

Lafayette proposed, the 11th of December, an answer, which was adopted by the assembly:—

"The provincial assembly of Auvergne, encouraged to the last by the agreeable hope of obtaining the approbation of the king, could not receive the unexpected expressions of his dissatisfaction without being struck with the deepest consternation. They should feel no consolation in their grief, if each member, whilst adopting the deliberative measure of the 23rd of last May, had not obeyed alone the voice of conscience.

"A better assessment would undoubtedly relieve those persons who are now illegally taxed. What other motive than this, could induce the members of the assembly to propose it instead of the system now in practice? But they could scarcely flatter themselves that the increase of the impost would furnish them with the facility of obtaining it.

"The statements, with which the members of the assembly have only been supplied after they had passed their resolution, have even added to their uncertainty. In the first place, the calculations are established on a number of selected parishes, whilst they ought to have been given upon any quantity of taxable matter. In the second place, the surplus of parishes are given to be verified, as if they were all done so completely, and in the same proportions; whilst these latter having already experienced considerable augmentations, principally on large properties, do not appear susceptible of any visible increase.

"The members of the assembly, struck by these considerations, by the impossibility of obtaining a communication of the lists, by the enormous accessaries of *la taille* in this province, which amount to 3,000,000*l.* upon which the twentieths are also still received, have only been able to fix their opinion upon the labours of the committee of imposts, and upon their unanimous conviction of this province being overcharged. They take the liberty of observing, that the united imposts of Auvergne are

beyond all proportion, and deprive even now the people of an essential portion of their subsistence; that every increase of charges would increase also the number of abandoned fields, and of labourers forced to emigrate, and would prove detrimental to the finances of his majesty, at the same time that it would inflict pain on his heart.

The assembly hopes that his Majesty, compassionating the peculiar situation of this province, will deign not to reject its first proposal, which it now reiterates, in full confidence, at the feet of a beloved monarch, from whom it derives an existence it will ever dedicate to the glory and satisfaction of his Majesty, which are ever united to the happiness of his people."

The assembly, according to the terms of the regulation, was closed on the same day.*

* See Appendix to this volume, No. I.

CORRESPONDENCE,

FROM THE YEAR 1787, UNTIL THE ASSEMBLING OF THE GENERAL STATES.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, January 18th, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—This letter will be entrusted to Colonel Frank, who is coming from a successful negotiation at Morocco, where Mr. Barclay and himself behaved very well. I wish our affairs had taken the same turn in Algiers, and think the best way to crush those rascals would be a confederation between the powers at war with them, each giving a certain sum, which should be employed by one man, or council of men, in the fitting out, and continually keeping in cruise, a naval squadron adapted to the purpose. The affairs of Holland are not settled; the stadtholder is stubborn: some patriots carry their views very far. Prussia wants to keep up the splendour, if not the power, of a brother-in-law; and France, of all things being averse to war, wants to conciliate and throw cold water on them all. It seems that the King of Prussia has not obtained the wisdom of his uncle

along with his throne.* They say he will go into frivolities. What Great Britain and the United States will do respecting the forts I do not know, but I know very well what I wish America to do, and what part I should like to act in the business. The Empress of Russia is going to Crimea, and has been pleased to invite me there; but I have been suddenly detained by an event which for a long time has not taken place in France. The king has convoked for the end of this month an assembly of notables, composed of the principal men of each order of the kingdom, not holding offices at court.† It will consist of one hundred and forty members, archbishops, bishops, nobles, presidents of the several parliaments, and mayors of towns. Your only acquaintances in the assembly are Count d'Estaing, the Duke de Laval, and your humble servant, who are there among the six-and-thirty of the order of noblesse. The king's letter announces an examination of the finances to be adjusted, of the means to alleviate the taxes of the people, and of many abuses to be redressed. You may easily conceive that there is at bottom a desire to make money, somehow or other, in order to put the receipts on a level with the expenses, which in this country is become enormous, on account of the sums squandered on courtiers and superfluities. But there was no way more patriotic, more candid, more noble, to effect these purposes. The king, and M. de Calonne, his minister, deserve great credit for it; and I hope that a tribute of gratitude and good will may reward

* The great Frederic died the 17th of August. 1786.

† The first convocation of notables was held in favour of an edict of 29th of December, 1786, and the opening of that assembly took place at Versailles, 22nd of February, 1787.

this popular measure.* My earnest wish and fond hope is, that our meeting will produce popular assemblies in the provinces, the destruction of many obstacles to trade, and a change in the fate of the protestants, events which I will promote with my friends, as well as by my own feeble endeavours, with all my heart. I had been on the first lists, on the last I was not; but before I could inquire what was the motive for my exclusion, the matter had been set to rights. I will give you an account of the assembly, not only because what concerns me cannot be unknown to my dear general, but also because everything is interesting which influences the happiness of twenty-six millions of people.

You have heard of a certain Beniowski, who

* Lafayette has been most absurdly reproached with having acted unkindly towards this minister. Calonne, no longer able to obtain money in any manner, and not choosing to convoke the states general, whom he dreaded, determined to assemble one hundred and forty-four notables selected by the king. The name of Lafayette had been at first effaced from the list. It was supposed that this was owing to a quarrel between the minister and him; but it was not so. Since the affair of the celebrated La Chalotais, Lafayette did not esteem Calonne; but they had agreed very well upon some affairs respecting the commercial relations of France and the United States. Some persons blamed the omission of Lafayette's name; some friends complained of it; two ministers, the Baron de Breteuil and the Marshal de Castries, loudly disapproved of it. Calonne himself appeared anxious to take advantage of an opportunity that offered to reinsert his name. Lafayette, having afterwards warmly supported, with his friend La Rochefoucauld, the minister's proposal to establish provincial assemblies, was for a short time reckoned amongst his party; but soon after, Nicolai, Bishop of Langres, the worthy nephew of Malesherbes, and Lafayette, denounced in an open manner some dilapidations. It was intended to send these denouncers to the Bastille, when, three days afterwards, Calonne was dismissed.—(Note found in the papers of M. de Lafayette.)

wanted to have a legion in our army, and who has since gone to Madagascar on an expedition, in which some Baltimore merchants, whom I had warned against it, were interested. Beniowski has pillaged the French settlement at Madagascar; a few men were sent to attack him from the Isle of France, and he was killed. I am going to Versailles, and will request the minister to send home what citizens of America may happen to be there, as I understand there is one among the prisoners with the badge of the Cincinnati. Beniowski's forces were under forty white men.

The late disturbances in the eastern states have given me a great deal of concern and uneasiness, not that I doubt the disposition of the people to put things to rights when the evil is demonstrated to them; but in the meanwhile they have their consequences in Europe to a degree which is very distressing, and the glory they have gained by the revolution they are in danger of losing by little and little, at least, for a period of time, which is most afflicting to their friends. I hope congress will not take such a part in the business as would destroy the growing ideas of federal measures.*

* The dissensions and troubles that agitated the United States had given birth to the idea of a convention, which should substitute a federal constitution to the articles of confederation that held its place. This idea, first brought forward by the State of Virginia, accepted in a partial assembly of the delegates of five states at Annapolis, was at length adopted by congress, which, the 21st of February, 1787, convoked the convention, or constituent assembly, for the second Monday of the following month of May.

The members of the convention representing the different states, excepting that of Rhode Island, assembled at Philadelphia in September, and presented for the acceptance of the American people the new constitution, which, after having been

Adieu, my dear general; my most affectionate respects, &c.

Should something turn out that may make it proper to join their standards, there is one, Colonel Smith, who will be very glad to go with me, and I with him.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, February 7th, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—The last letter I had from you is dated November 19th, and announced the safe arrival of the asses. I hope they will be less frigid than those of his Catholic Majesty. Whatever be their intrinsic value, I have found it increase, in a Maryland paper, to a degree which does not, indeed, do justice to the Malthese merchants, and as the estimate of the three animals is truly extravagant, I must tell you, although it is not very usual for people who make a present to give the receiver a peep into the bill, yet what the trio cost at Malta does not much exceed fifty guineas, still the jackass is the best that could be found in the island.

I have given you an account of the assembly of the notables, wicked people say *not-able*, which would have already begun, had not three of the ministers,

adopted by nine states, was to be put into immediate execution. Twelve states took part in the formation of that federal compact promulgated the 17th September, 1787. This is the present constitution of the United States. North Carolina and Rhode Island, after having rejected it, finally accepted it; the former in 1789, and the second a year after.

M. de Vergennes, M. de Calonne, and the keeper of the seal, fallen sick very inopportunely. I am sanguine in the hope that the assembly will be productive of good consequences. I flatter myself we may get a kind of house of representatives in each province, not to fix, it is true, but to divide the taxes, and an abolition of several duties on the commercial intercourse within the kingdom. It is not probable that the affair of the protestants will come before the house, as the acclamations of the clergy and a bigotted party might hurt the business; but we shall, I hope, have it before long one way or other, and nothing hinders the king deciding at once on that important affair, provided he does not mind too much the opposing party, whose only means are to intrigue or complain; and since we have the inconveniences of power, let us in this instance have the benefits of it; the more so, as the greater part of the clergy, if unconsulted, will not throw obstacles in the way, and the people at large wish for a more liberal system.

My journey to Crimea will not, of course, take place; and nothing can be determined upon while the length of our session is not known. I will acquaint you with everything that is worth crossing the Atlantic. This letter is carried by Colonel Franks, who has behaved particularly well in his mission to Morocco, and by Mr. Banister, who is going home. This young man is very clever. France has just made a treaty of commerce with Russia, which does honour to Count de Ségur.* The health of Count de Vergennes is in rather an

* It is known that M. de Ségur was minister in Russia. The treaty is of the 11th January.

alarming situation.* Nothing settled as yet in Holland. The new king of Prussia seems averse to the idea of imitating his predecessor, and does not, as you may easily guess, shine the more for it.

We are told that the disturbances in New England are subsiding. God grant it! The people of America ought to be made sensible that any misconduct lowers them the more in the opinions of Europe, as they have been so highly and so deservedly admired, and they are most seriously interested in preserving their happiness at home, and their consequence abroad.

Adieu, my most beloved general. Be pleased to present my best respects to Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Stuart, to your respected mother, and all your family. Remember me to George, the young ones, and all friends. Let your affectionate recollection and fatherly blessing often attend your absent, your dearest, and most devoted friend, and let your heart judge what I so warmly feel and cannot sufficiently express, that with every sentiment of affection, respect, and gratitude, I am, my great and good general, yours, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, May 5th, 1787.

My dear General,—Although I cannot omit an opportunity of writing to you, my letter will not be so long and minute as I should like to make it, because of the constant hurry of business occasioned by the assembly. Every day, Sundays excepted, is taken up with general meetings, committees, and

* He died the 13th February.

smaller boards; it is a pretty extraordinary sight at Versailles, the more so, as a great deal of patriotism and firmness has been displayed.

From the time of the king's coming to the throne, the expenses of the treasury have been increased to about two hundred French millions a-year. But it went at such a rate under M. de Calonne, that having reached a monstrous deficiency, and knowing not how to fill it up, he persuaded the king to assemble notable persons of each order to please them with a plan of assemblies in each province, which was much desired, and to get their approbation for new taxes, with which he durst not by himself saddle the nation.

The assembly was very properly chosen, both for honesty and abilities, and personal consequence. But M. de Calonne much depended on his own power of speaking and intriguing, as well as on the king's blind confidence in him and all his plans. We were not the representatives of the nation, but have been supported by their partiality to us.

Calonne's plan of a provincial assembly has been amended by us. His plan of a tax in kind was rejected; it has been the case with several other projects. Some others were altered for the better, and sometimes new ones substituted; and we declared, that although we had no right to impede, it was our right not to advise, unless we thought the measures were proper, and that we could not think of new taxes unless we knew the returns of expenditure, and the plans of economy.

The more we entered into the business, the less possible it was for the ministry to do without us. To the assembly the public looked up; and had the assembly been dismissed, credit was gone. As we were going to separate for the Easter holidays, I

made a motion to inquire into bargains, by which, under pretence of exchanges, millions had been lavished upon princes and favourites. The Bishop of Langres seconded my motion. It was thought proper to intimidate us, and the king's brother told me, in his Majesty's name, that such motions ought to be signed; upon which I signed the inclosed.

M. de Calonne went up to the king to ask if I should be confined in the Bastille. An oratory battle was announced between us for the new meeting, and I was getting the proofs of what I had advanced, when Calonne was overthrown from his post, and so our dispute ended, except that the king and family, and the great men about court, some friends excepted, do not forgive me for the liberties I have taken, and the success which it had among the other classes of the people.

M. de Calonne's successor was M. de Fourqueux, an old man, who lasted but a fortnight; and now we have got the Archbishop of Toulouse at the head of affairs, a man of the most upright honesty and shining abilities; M. de Villedeuil, a clever man, will act under him, and we may consider the archbishop as prime minister.

We are going to have good houses of representatives in each province, not to vote the taxes, but to divide them. We have got the king to make reductions and improvements to the amount of forty millions of livres a-year. We are proposing the means to insure a better and more public method of administration, but we shall be obliged in the end to make loans and levy taxes. The assembly has acted with firmness and patriotism; the walls of Versailles had never before heard so many good things, and our meeting, particularly in the alarming situa-

tion of affairs, when the kingdom was driving away like Phaeton's car, will have proved very beneficial.

I have been much hurt to hear that the unpaid interest of the American debt was considered as a very uncertain revenue. I said everything that was proper on the subject, but could not prevent that being considered as a fact which hitherto has proved but too true; full justice has been done to the security of the capital, but the punctuality of the interest has been animadverted upon.

M. de Calonne's letter has met with some difficulties from the farmers, who are going to be settled, so that the merchants need not to be uneasy. The cloud that was gathering over the Turks and Russians is for the moment clearing up.

My health has been deranged during the assembly, so far as to endanger a little my breath; but a good regimen, and a little patience, without interrupting public business, have got me in a very fair way. Inclosed is a copy of my signed motion, which I find in a newspaper. I would have translated it, but you will very easily have it done. When the opinions of the several committees shall be printed, I will send them to America.

My most affectionate respects, and those of Madame de Lafayette and family, wait on Mrs. Washington and you, my dear general; remember me to the whole family and all friends. Most respectfully and tenderly I have the honour to be, my beloved general, your most devoted and grateful friend.

LAFAYETTE.

Mr. John de Crèvecœur, the French consul at New York, has requested my recommendation for

some information he wishes to have. I assured him you would have no objection. Tarleton has printed a journal of the campaigns he has made, wherein he treats Lord Cornwallis very severely.*

TO MR. JOHN JAY.†

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, May 3rd, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR,—Had I been sooner acquainted with Mr. Forrest's departure, I would have given you more particular accounts of the latter part of our session, but have only time to inclose the speeches that were made by the heads of the several departments; not that such etiquette speeches are in any way interesting on the other side of the Atlantic, but because you will in the same book find that of the Archbishop of Toulouse, wherein he gives the king's answer to the several demands of the bureau. You will see that if the madness and corruption of the late administration have laid us under a necessity to acknowledge, that after all other means should be

* This work relates particularly to the Virginian campaign. It may be remembered that Colonel Tarleton commanded a legion of partisans in the army of Lord Cornwallis. His work, which appeared in London in 1787, (1 vol. in quarto,) is entitled, *A History of the Campaigns of* 1780 *and* 1781, *in the Southern Provinces of North America.*

† This letter, drawn (as well as all those addressed to Mr. Jay) from an American collection, entitled *The Diplomatic Correspondence*, (vol. x.,) is undoubtedly wrongly dated. It is evidently posterior to the closing of the assembly of notables, which took place the 25th May. The motion in favour of the protestants, which is mentioned in this letter, is of the 24th. This letter should perhaps be dated the 30th.

exhausted, taxes must be employed to fill up the vacancy, yet we have gained not a little by the convocation of the assembly. A more equal repartition of taxes, including the clergy, who hitherto had escaped them, and the powerful ones among the noblesse, who were not very exact; provincial assemblies on an elective principle, which, by-the-bye, are big with happy, very happy consequences, that will come to light as we go on; economy, to the amount of forty millions at least; the destruction of interior custom-houses; a modification of the gabelle; an annual publication of the accounts of the finances; the printing of all pensions, gifts, &c.; more suitable arrangements within some departments; and a more general instruction, with habits of thinking on public affairs, &c.; are the good effects of this assembly, which, although it was not national, (since we were not representatives,) behaved with great propriety and patriotism.

On the last day of the session I had the happiness to carry two motions in my bureau, which were, I may almost say, unanimously agreed to;—the one in favour of the protestant citizens of France, the other for an examination of the laws, particularly the criminal ones. Inclosed is the resolve framed by the bureau, which D'Artois, our president, presented to the king, and which was graciously received. I was the more pleased with it, as some steps of the kind with respect to protestants, that had been tried in the parliament of Paris, had not the proper success. So far are we from religious freedom, that, even in asking for tolerance, we must measure our expressions. I was most liberally supported by a learned and virtuous prelate, the Bishop of Langres, who spoke admirably on that religious motion I had introduced. You will see that the

bureau clogged it with many compliments to the Roman creed, to appease the priests and devotees.

I cannot express to you, my dear sir, what my feelings have been whenever the unpaid interest of the American debt has been spoken of in the examination of the accounts. May the convention be the happy epoch of federal, energetic, patriotic measures! May the friends of America rejoice! May her enemies be humbled, and her censors silenced, at the news of her noble exertions in continuance of those principles which have placed her so high in the annals of history and among the nations of the earth.

The Archbishop of Toulouse is the ablest, and one of the most honest men that could be put at the head of the administration.* He will be the

* A very bold project, formed by Lafayette at that period, to oblige the king to adopt a real representative government, had been at first confided to M. de Brienne. When the latter saw his former notable colleague insist upon the convocation of a *national assembly*, he hastened to designate him to the council as the most dangerous man, *because*, he added, *his logic is all put into action*. The freedom of Lafayette's speeches, and the frankness of his conduct, contrasted strongly with the manners of the courtiers. His republicanism, under favour of his American career, had only, at first, appeared rather singular. As he by degrees, however, pronounced his opinions on the affairs of the French government, he was judged of in a more serious manner. When (in 1787) he attacked the abuses in which Calonne had taken part, he was thought to be his private enemy; but a different opinion was formed of him when the credit of the queen raised the Archbishop of Toulouse to the ministry, for it then became evident that Lafayette did not oppose those ministers from any personal motive. La Rochefoucauld, in parliament, and his friend Lafayette, in Auvergne, never lost an opportunity of encouraging a refusal of subsidies, and of demanding the general states; both loudly approved of the insurrection of the Dauphiné, and their names may be found in all provincial oppositions. It will not, therefore, appear strange if Lafayette

prime mover of everything; and we may depend upon him as a man equally enlightened and liberal.

I beg you will present my respectful compliments, and those of Madame de Lafayette, to Mrs. Jay. Remember me to General Knox, Colonel Hamilton, Colonel Wadsworth, the Chancellor, Mr. Madison, Doctor Cochran, the Governor, in a word, to all friends.

Please send the inclosed present speeches and copied resolves of the bureau to Mr. Otto, who must be very desirous of getting them.*

Most respectfully and affectionately yours, &c.

lost at that time the favour of the queen: the dissatisfaction of the king was softened by several extenuating circumstances. When he yielded to the intrigues and cupidity of the court, he committed an outrage on his own private feelings; and he was, in reality, pleased with all those who economised the public fortune; he was also flattered by the success of the American war, and the honour it had restored to the French arms, which had been disgraced by the war of seven years; he felt obliged to Lafayette for the part he had acted, and knew his fixed determination of never soliciting anything except the power of being useful. Such was the situation of the court and that of Lafayette towards the ministers, before the opening of the general states.—(Note found in the papers of M. de Lafayette.)

* Mr. Otto had at first accompanied M. de la Luzerne to the United States as private secretary. He succeeded M. Barbé Marbois in the employment of secretary of legation. He is the same person who was afterwards charged, both under the republic and empire, with several diplomatic missions.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, August 3rd, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have received your first favour from Philadelphia with the greatest satisfaction, as it promises me the pleasure to hear again from you before long—a pleasure, my dear beloved general, which your friend's filial heart desires to anticipate, and enjoys most affectionately. I have not been surprised to hear of your attendance at the convention, and would indeed have wondered at a denial. On the success of this meeting the very existence of the United States may depend; and you will know that your name will add a great weight to its proceedings. I am sorry to say, but I am much more unhappy to observe, that the name of America is declining; it gives pleasure to her enemies—it hurts her interest even with her allies—it furnishes the opponents to liberty with anti-republican arguments; her dignity is lowering, her credit vanishing, her good intentions questioned by some, her future prosperity doubted. Good God! will the people of America, so enlightened, so wise, so generous, after they have so gloriously climbed up the rugged hill, now stumble in the easy path? I the more heartily wish well to your meeting, as I feel that the happiness of my life could not withstand a disappointment of my fond hopes for the prosperity of our good United States.

I thank you, my dear general, for the fine birds and excellent bacon you have sent to me. The poor ducks died at the Havre on their arrival; I beg you will send me some again, and beg leave to add a petition for an invoice of mocking birds.

The spirit of liberty is prevailing in this country at a great rate. Liberal ideas are cantering about from one end of the kingdom to the other. Our assembly of notables was a fine thing, but for those who imagined it. You know of the personal quarrel I had respecting some gifts made to favourites at the expense of the public; it has given me a great number of powerful and inveterate enemies, but was very welcome to the nation. I have, since that period, presented some opinions of mine in very plain terms. I cannot say I am on a very favourable footing at court, (if by court you understand the king, the queen, and the king's brothers,) but am very friendly with the present administration. The Archbishop of Toulouse is a man equally great by his abilities and uprightness; and the king's council is better composed than it has ever been.

At the same time, the parliaments, warmed by the example of the notables, make a great resistance against the new taxes. They will be forced to register the edicts; but it is well that they have asked for a general assembly of the nation; and, although it will not take place now, I anticipate the event when the assembly of representatives, now settling in each province, will have taken a proper weight and felt their own strength. I hope the affair of the protestants will soon be settled agreeably to the motion I had made the day before our dismission.*

It is not known whether the emperor will make

* In consequence of the deliberations of the notables, three declarations of the king, upon the freedom of the commerce in grain, (17th June,) the creation of the provincial assemblies (22nd idem,) and the conversion of the *corvée* into a certain sum of money, were published and registered. The same was also done respecting two pecuniary edicts upon stamps and the territorial subvention. Parliament, after having reported them,

terms with the Flemish deputies, or risk the sending of an army from his Austrian dominions to that remote part of his empire. I rather think he will negotiate, but shall not be surprised if he acted the contrary way. Prussia and Great Britain are supporting the stadtholder. France interests herself for the republican party. Preparations are making on both sides; but I believe that this, too, will take a negotiating turn, and be reduced to some skirmishes among the Dutch, unless the King of Prussia's partiality to his sister leads him into hasty measures, which would involve them all further than they now expect.

Adieu, my dear and respected general; my best respects wait on Mrs. Washington and all friends. Madame de Lafayette is in Auvergne, where I am going to meet her, and to attend the first session of the provincial assembly.

With every sentiment of filial love and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, October 9th, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I hope the time is drawing near when I shall receive the letter you have announced to me, and while I have the unspeakable

(the 6th July,) only registered them in a court of justice, (6th August,) and declared itself incapable of authorizing them in a valid manner, "the nation, assembled in general states, being alone competent to give to a perpetual impost the consent necessary to its establishment." The edict relating to the protestants was only issued at the commencement of the following year.

satisfaction of hearing from my beloved general, I shall also gratify my heartfelt curiosity to know the proceedings of the convention. May it have devised proposals, and found in the people a disposition, which can ensure the happiness, prosperity, and dignity, of the United States. I confess that my pride, with respect to America, can bear no mortification, and yet I feel every day that she does not enjoy that consequence that ought to be hers. I hope to God this opportunity may be made use of, so as to give solidity and energy to the union, without receding, however, from the principles of democracy; for anything that is monarchical, or of the aristocratical kind, is big with evils. I am sometimes afraid lest the ill effects of a democratical relaxation should be the cause of leaning too much on the other side; but are we to expect that so many enlightened, experienced, and virtuous senators, will have hit the very point where the people will remain in possession of their natural rights, of that perfect equality among fellow-citizens, and yet government, with the powers freely and frequently invested in them, will be able to provide with efficacy and act with vigour? The conduct of Rhode Island is strange indeed: has England any personal views to answer on that spot?

The affairs of France are still in an unsettled situation. A large deficiency is to be made up with taxes; and the nation is tired of paying what they have not voted. Notions of liberty have been, since the American revolution, spreading very fast. The combustible materials have been kindled by the assembly of notables. After they had got rid of us there were the parliaments to fight with; and although they are only courts of judicature, they have made use of their registering to deny their

sanction to any taxes not allowed by the nation. Some of them were exiled; others they arrested, which afterwards were broken by the king's council, and a paper war ensued. Count D'Artois, when he came as the bearer of the king's orders, was hissed by the mob. Some ministers have been burnt in effigy. At last the parliament of Paris very foolishly agreed to an arrangement proposed, by which it was to take back the two proposed taxes, provided they would register an augmentation of the old ones. The provincial assemblies have held their first meeting. Regulations were given to them by the king, whereby they were to be entirely submitted to his majesty's intendants in each province. We made loud complaints, and the regulations are mending.* You see that the king is often obliged to step back, and yet the people at large is dissatisfied. So great is the discontent, that the queen dares not come to Paris for fear of being ill received; and, from the proceedings that have taken place these six months past, we shall at least obtain the infusion of this idea into everybody's head—viz., that the king has no right to tax the nation, and nothing in that way can be done but by an assembly of the nation.

The king, in France, is all powerful; he has all the means to enforce, to punish, and to corrupt. The ministers have the inclination, and think it their duty, to preserve despotism. There are swarms of low and effeminate courtiers. The influence of women,

* The decisions of the council, which destroyed those of the parliament, are of the 14th August, and the parliament exiled to Troyes. The expedition of the brothers of the king, the one to the court of aids, the other to the court of accounts, to force the registering of the edict of 6th July, took place on the 18th August. The transaction which ensued between the prime minister and the parliament was of the 10th of September. The first meetings of the provincial assemblies were of the month of August.

and love of pleasure, have abated the spirit of the nation, and the inferior classes are ignorant. But, on the other hand, the genius of the French is truly enterprising, and inclined to a contempt of their rulers; their minds are getting enlightened by the works of the philosophers and the example of other nations; they are easily actuated by a becoming sense of honour, and although they are slaves, they do not like to confess that it is the case. The inhabitants of the remote provinces are disgusted with the despotism and expenses of the court, so that there is a strange contrast between them and the Turkish power of the king—the regard of the ministers to preserve it untouched—the intrigues and servility of a set of courtiers on the one hand, and, on the other, the general freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing, in spite of the spies, the Bastille, and the library laws—the spirit of criticism and patriotism in the first class of the nation, many of them personally servants to the king, mixed with a fear of losing their situations and pensions—the foolish insolence of the mob in the city, always ready to give way to a detachment of guards, and the more serious discontents of the country people,—all these ingredients mixed together, will, by little and little, without great convulsions, bring on an independent representation of the people, and, at length, a diminution of the royal authority. It is an affair of time, and will be the slower on its way, as the cross interests of powerful people may put bars on the wheels.

There have been great changes in the administration; the Archbishop of Toulouse is prime minister. He is honest, sensible, and enlightened. I confess he has committed errors since he has been in place, yet I do think him a man of first-rate abilities. He has been tossed on the two storms of interior and foreign politics, but should more calm weather come

on, I am sure he will be able as well as disposed to do great things. Marechals de Castries and Ségur have resigned; the former is still much consulted. It is a great loss to the council. You know I am much connected by friendship with him. The two new ministers are, for the war, Count de Brienne, brother to the archbishop; and, for the navy, Count de la Luzerne, the chevalier's brother. He has been sent to Hispaniola, where he now commands. I think the latter may be usefully disposed towards American concerns. You know that my friend M. de Malesherbes is again one of the council. Upon the whole, this new administration is composed of very honest men; some of them very sensible. It is a great thing to have a prime minister who acts the king's part. I wish they had some men among them of military experience: it is to be feared we shall have a war.

The Ottoman empire has been long threatened: France supported it against its enemies, while she advised bringing on themselves a fatal war with the two imperial courts; but, through the intrigues of England, the Grand Seignior has been driven to hostilities against the Russians; and now the Turkish empire in Europe must probably fall. It is not known whether France will support the Turks, unfaithful and mad as they are, or occupy some interesting ports in the Mediterannean, on which the English have long had an eye,—such as Candia, the Morea, or perhaps Egypt.

You will also hear, my dear general, of the dismal event that took place in Holland, for which the indecision of our ministry, the blunders of the French ambassador, and the rascality of a coward adventurer, the rhingrave de Salm, are, no doubt, to blame. The ambassador knew nothing of what was doing; said nothing of what was to be said. M. de Salm, who

had infatuated this court, spoke great wonders, and did nothing but to run away; and the ministers were slow in their preparations, dilatory in recalling their ambassador, and completely deceived in their negotiations. But it may be said, on the other hand, that the patriotic party in Holland could never agree, and were almost as much opposed to each other as they were to the stadtholder; the entrance of the King of Prussia's troops was equally contrary to the laws of honour, since there was a negotiation on foot; and to those of politics, since he throws us into an Austrian alliance very disadvantageous to him. We have been surprised, he misled, the Dutch ruined, and England is the only one that has gained in the bargain. It is not known whether Great Britain will be satisfied with keeping a very advantageous treaty of commerce with us, or whether, having regained her influence in Holland, she will take this opportunity to revenge the American war. The latter is the British king's wish, and is probable enough. Then alliances will probably be formed,—France, the Emperor, Russia, and Spain, against England, Prussia, and an army of Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers, aided by the stadtholderian influence in Holland, unless we find means to enter in with an army and raise up again the republican party, which now is pretty difficult. I have been thinking what part ought America to take, and this is my humble opinion:—

There is no doubt but that the United States will either join France, or remain neutral. In the first supposition, they will recover the forts, and Canada will probably be an addition to the confederacy; but how far is it to be expected that the southern and part of the eastern states would like a war that may deprive them of a portion of their trade? and is America so situated as to support a war without

great inconvenience to herself? I should think that a neutrality suits her interests better, but such a neutrality as will actually help her allies and increase her own wealth. You know that, by the treaty, the possessions of each other in America are mutually guaranteed. France may be induced not to insist upon a literal compliance with this point, while she enjoys the full advantage of another article that empowers her to introduce and refit her fleets, and to sell her prizes, within the harbours of the United States. France would thereby find a shelter, a magazine, a repairing yard, wherever she pleases, and the United States would have the profit of thé sale. At the same time, letters of marque would be given to American privateers, mixed with French, under French colours, who would bring in a part of the West India English produce; in the meanwhile the American merchants will go on trading with both, and the United States cannot be quarrelled with by England, since, on the one hand, they strictly comply with the treaty, and, on the other, they cannot prevent the French from purchasing and fitting out vessels wherever they please. I would not have the fear of appearing timid or ungrateful lead the United States further than such a friendly helping neutrality as I have described, which, if well managed, may enable us to get France to insist on the restoration of the forts in the treaty of peace; but I should be afraid of a war, on account of the expense.

You know, my dear general, that my letter to Mr. Jefferson has been attended with embarrassments and misunderstandings, owing, not to any change of disposition in the ministry, but to the subterraneous chicanes of the farm, which the hurry and crisis of internal business, and the frequent ups and downs of

the several ministers, prevented my setting to rights. The work has been lately finished by my friend Mr. Jefferson, and myself, as well as we could settle it for the present, and considering the intricate difficulties of fiscal laws and exclusive privileges under which the country still labours. I hope you will find that the trade from the United States receives as much favour as it was possible to obtain until the present state of things is changed for the better.

I shall now, my dear general, tell you something of myself—a part of my gazette that I know is not uninteresting to you. After the assembly of notables had been ended, wherein I had the misfortune to displease their majesties, the royal family, and a set of powerful men and courtiers, while that conduct of mine, much criticised there, made me very popular among the nation at large, and was countenanced by the parliaments, who repeated what I had said : I therefore turned my thoughts towards the provincial assemblies in Auvergne. The presidency was not given to me, and I did not wish for it ; I had previously declared this, because the president, being named by the king, is not so free in his motions as a private member. I even wished to be named by the assembly a member of the country meetings, although I could not attend, on account of the American business, which has called me back, and keeps me here. The first session of the assembly was only to complete its numbers, because the system of deputation is only to take place once in three years, and the first nomination was made half by the king, and the other half by ourselves, who also named one half of the subordinate assemblies, who are to complete themselves by their own choice.

I made a tour through the province, where I was received by all classes of the inhabitants with the

most affecting marks of love and confidence. In the meanwhile there was something going on in Holland much to my advantage, had it not been spoiled by the very men who ought to have supported it. The Dutch had long ago thought of introducing me into their affairs, and it was lately agitated to put me at the head of the twenty thousand volunteers, in case they should agree to meet; a measure which the interest of the cause, and the opinion of the most sensible among them, called for very earnestly. I could also, and might, no doubt, as soon as affairs grew serious, have been put at the head of the whole military force of the republican provinces.* While this plan was arranging, much

* This connexion with the patriots who undertook to oppose the usurpations of the house of Orange, was previous to the troubles of 1787. In 1785, when Lafayette was at the reviews of Potsdam and Magdebourg, the Duke of Brunswick was charged by the king, his uncle, who was at that time indisposed, to enter into an explanation with him respecting the affairs of Holland, and to tell him that the court of Berlin would not support the stadtholder in any exaggerated pretensions; that all it demanded was, that the French ministry should not aid in his expulsion. M. de Vergennes had not carried his own views so far. Lafayette, in 1786, became intimately acquainted with the respectable citizens of Holland, who were desirous of placing him at the head of their troops. The French ministers, from the recommendation of the King of Prussia, and the request of the stadtholder, gave, in the first instance, to the patriots, Maillebois, who was but little suited to them. They feared that, if they yielded to the wishes expressed in favour of Lafayette, they should be carried on too far, and they preferred opposing to the Orange party a foreigner, the rhingrave de Salm, who has become sufficiently known by later events. In spite of this opposition, Lafayette continued, under the Brienne ministry, to take a warm interest in the affairs of Holland. Bouillé was to be sent there, in case of an attack from the Prussians, with an auxiliary corps of Frenchmen; and the patriots had determined to request, in a formal manner, that Lafayette might command the Batavian troops. Their projects failed,

to the satisfaction of the Archbishop of Toulouse and Marechal de Castries, (for, although I am not on very good terms with the crowned heads, it does not in the least lessen my influence with the ministers, some of whom I am friendly with, particularly the prime minister,) and while Ternant, who has acted a noble and important part in the Dutch service, expected that the proposal would immediately be made, the rhingrave de Salm, and his friend, the king's ambassador, put a stop to the whole transaction, by persuading the leaders that such a proposition would not please the court of France; and as the matter originated with the Dutch, and not with the ministry, who had nothing to do with the

owing to the intrigues of the British cabinet, the perfidy of the Berlin cabinet, and, above all, the weakness and want of faith of the French government. The patriots of Holland repented, too late, not having summoned, at the beginning, the chief they confided in, and having paid too much attention to the opposition offered by the cabinet of Versailles, of which Lafayette was for a long time ignorant, as may be seen in his correspondence; but his house became their rendezvous, and the place in which all their projects were formed and discussed; in a word, all that was in the power of a man whom the speeches of the notables and the first troubles, the precursors of the revolution, had already separated from the court, was undertaken by Lafayette for their assistance. The following year, some fresh hopes induced M. Paulus, his private friend, who since died president of the Batavian convention, to come from Rotterdam to Paris. M. Paulus has repeatedly said, that Lafayette, although he had not, for a long time, visited the ministers, offered to apply to them in favour of Batavian liberty, and neglected nothing to secure the success of his Paris expedition. At a later period, the jacobins reproached Lafayette with having always wished to embarrass the political affairs of the Dutch patriots, although these last, at the commencement of the war, wishing to form a legion, requested immediately that it should be commanded by the constant defender of their cause.—(Note found among the papers of M. de Lafayette.)

business, it was abandoned, or, at least, procrastinated; and they now say that they have in this, as in other things, been deceived by the knavery of the rhingrave. Amsterdam had a little fight the other day, but they have since capitulated.* M. de Moustiers sends me word that he is just going; I shall have time, and probably a safe opportunity, to write before he sails; but, as this letter is of a very confidential nature, and is not fit for post affairs, particularly in this country, I think it safer to lodge it in that gentleman's hands, and will continue it in a few days.

Adieu, my dear general; with filial tenderness and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, January 7th, 1788.

My dear General,—I am fortunate in this opportunity to wish you a happy new year, and to devote the first moments of this day to the heartfelt pleasure of reminding you, my beloved general, of your adopted son, and most affectionate and devoted friend. I beg you will present my best respects to Mrs. Washington. Madame de Lafayette joins in the most tender compliments to you and to her, and I hope, my dear general, that you will be so kind as to mention me very affectionately to all the family and friends.

It is needless for me to tell you that I read the new proposed constitution with an unspeakable

* The Prussians entered Amsterdam the 10th October.

eagerness and attention.* I admire it, and find in it a bold, large, and solid frame for the confederation. The electioneering principles, with respect to the two houses of congress, are most happily calculated. I am only afraid of two things,—1st, the want of a declaration of rights; 2dly, the great powers and possible continuance of the president, who may, one day or other, become a stadtholder. Should my observations be well founded, I still am easy on two accounts; first, that a bill of rights may be made, if wished for, by the people, before they accept the constitution; my other comfort is, that you cannot refuse being elected president; and that, if you think the public vessel can be steered without such powers, you will be able to lessen them, or propose measures respecting their permanence, which cannot fail to ensure a greater perfection in the constitution, and a new harvest of glory to yourselves. But, in the name of America, of mankind at large, and of your own fame, I beseech you, my dear general, not to deny your acceptance of the office of president for the first years. You only can settle the political machine, and I foresee it will furnish an admirable chapter in your history.

I am returned from the provincial assembly of Auvergne, wherein I had the happiness to please the people, and the misfortune to displease government to a very great degree. The ministry asked for an increase of revenue; our province was among the few who gave nothing, and she expressed herself in a manner which has been taken very much amiss. The internal situation of France

* The constitution proposed by the convention for the ratification of the people, is of the 17th September, 1787.

is very extraordinary; the feelings of the people, of which I gave you a picture, are working themselves into a high degree of fermentation, but not without a mixture of levity and love of ease. The parliaments are every day passing the boundaries of their institutions, but are sure to be approved by the nation; when, among many irrational things, they have the good policy to call for a general assembly. Government see that the power of the crown is declining, and now want to retrieve it by an ill-timed and dangerous severity. They have money enough for this year; so, at least, they think: for my part, I am heartily wishing for a constitution, and a bill of rights, and wish it may be effected with as much tranquillity and mutual satisfaction as it is possible.*

The emperor has made a foolish attempt on Belgrade, but cannot fail to take it another time; and on the commencement of the spring, the two imperial courts will open a vigorous, and no doubt successful, campaign against the Turks. These have been led into a war by Great Britain, and should France take a decisive part, it is more than probable she will side with Russia; but this government will avoid being committed in the affair, and perhaps will not be the better for it. The King of Prussia is now courting France, and proposes, I think, to withdraw his regiments from Holland. But this is a very insufficient, and probably a very useless reparation.

* The quarrel between the court and parliament had become aggravated in consequence of a court of justice, held the 19th November, to register a loan; two counsellors, and the Duke of Orleans, had been exiled; as a compensation for these evils, a royal declaration had announced, on the 18th December, the convocation of the general states, but not until the expiration of five years.

Inclosed, my dear general, are an arrêt of the council and a letter to Mr. Jefferson, both of which, after long negotiations, we have had the satisfaction to obtain. I expected it might have been finished before my journey to Auvergne, but new difficulties have arisen, and Mr. Jefferson and myself have but lately ended the business. I am more and more pleased with Mr. Jefferson; his abilities, his virtues, his temper, everything about him, commands respect and attracts affection; he enjoys universal regard, and transacts the affairs of America to perfection. It is the happiest choice that could be made.

Adieu, my dear general; with filial love and respect I have the honour to be, your devoted and affectionate friend, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, January 2nd, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have written to you by the way of England, and will only inclose a duplicate of the arrêt of the council and letter to Mr. Jefferson, which, I hope, may serve the commerce of the United States. I am the more wishing for the increase of intercourse between the two nations, as Mr. Jefferson and myself have pledged ourselves with the ministry that it would be the case, and, indeed, it is equally necessary to keep up the dispositions of France, and change those of Great Britain, who now have all the profits, while they grant no favour. You see, my dear general, that a wide field is now opened to the speculations of American merchants.

The emperor is determined on a war against the Turks; how far this winter's negotiations may adjust matters I do not know. But it is probable that the Ottomans will have to fight with the two imperial courts, and cannot fail very dearly to pay for the sport. European politics have much changed since the King of Prussia and Grand Seignior gave themselves up to British influence. An alliance with the imperial court would now better suit France, and she could not be a loser in the bargain. But her first aim will be to avoid a war. The internal situation of this country is rather embarrassing for government, those to whom they have insured the service for the whole year, must still be a little busy in managing a spirit of opposition, sometimes irrational, in the parliaments, whilst there is a spirit of freedom in the people, which will occupy the stage until it is filled by a national assembly, where public affairs will be set to rights. In the meanwhile, the provincial assemblies are doing much good, and I hope that the constitution of France is improving a great deal.

Adieu, my beloved general; my respects, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, February 4th, 1788.

My dear General,—Your letters become more and more distant, and I anxiously wish for your speedy appointment to the presidency, in order that you may have a more exact notice of the opportunities to write to me. This will not tell you much

of politics. The two imperial courts are preparing for a vigorous campaign against the Turks. Russia intends sending a squadron into the Mediterranean, and although it does not much suit either England or France, neither, I think, will earnestly expostulate against it. The Turks would fight, as Lord Cornwallis once wrote about me, *if they knew how*. They shall be beaten without doubt, and cannot fail to pay dearly for their new connexion with Great Britain. I am told that the King of Prussia also repents of what he has done; but he is too wild to be trusted. He is strengthening the Germanic confederacy set on foot by the late king, and England has taken into her pay a great number of German princes. It seems affairs are slowly working towards an alliance between the imperial courts, France, and Spain. It goes on as gently as it is possible for politics to move. France is afraid for her Levant trade: she wants to mend her deranged finances. Government is not a little embarrassed by a spirit of opposition that has of late introduced itself, so that every means to pacify, to mediate, and to lie still, will be employed by France; yet is she so powerful by her resources, her fertility, her position, and all the advantages she is endowed with, that she must be calculated much above the mark where her rivals now place her; and the moment she gets a national assembly, she will leave far behind everything in Europe. England has gone a little too far for her own abilities and intentions. I am told there is a deficiency in the last quarter. She is uneasy at the fermentation kept up in Holland by the horrid conduct of the stadtholderians, and at the prospect of the quadruple alliance. Yet as our ministry are known to seek peace with great

perseverance, the British cabinet think themselves enabled to take a higher tone than what they seriously intend.

We are anxiously waiting for the result of the state conventions. The new constitution has been much examined and admired by European philosophers. It seems, the want of a declaration of rights, of an assurance for the trial by juries, of a necessary rotation of the president, are, with the extensive powers of the executive, the principal points objected to. Mr. Jefferson and myself have agreed that those objections appeared to us to be well founded; but none should be started until nine states had accepted the confederation. These amendments, if thought convenient, might be made to take in the dissidents. As to what relates to the powers and possible permanency of the president, I am easy, nay, I am pleased with it, as the reducing of it to what is necessary for energy, and taking from it every dangerous seed, will be a glorious sheet in the history of my beloved general.

You have received an arrêt du conseil, and letter to Mr. Jefferson, which, I hope, will prove advantageous to the trade. The former has excited a pretty considerable ferment among some commercial and financial people, who think we have been too partial to the United States. I have requested the minister to call the opponents in a committee, and hope to support every article to their satisfaction. It is better not to mention this circumstance, for fear of giving some unnecessary uneasiness to the merchants in America.

The edict, giving to the *non-catholic subjects of the king* a civil estate, has been registered.* You

* It is of the 20th January.

remember, my dear general, what I wrote to you three years ago. You may easily guess, that I was well-pleased last Sunday in introducing to the ministerial table the first Protestant clergyman who had appeared at Versailles since the revolution of 1689.

Madame de Lafayette, Anastasia, George your son, and Virginia, beg to be most respectfully presented to you and to Mrs. Washington, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, March 18th, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I wish I could begin this letter with the acknowledgment of a recent favour from you, but none having come to hand, I have no other comfort but to attribute it to ill fortune, and not to any fault of yours. I am so happy to hear from you, my beloved general, and so uneasy when I do not, that I hope you will never willingly deprive me of a satisfaction so dear to me, yet so different from the happy habits of intimacy I had with you when in America.

The politics of Europe begin to unfold themselves, in the eastward, at least. Russia will soon besiege Oczakow, whilst another army is combining itself with an Austrian body of troops, the grand army, which the emperor commands, is before Belgrade. This he endeavoured to surprise, but did not succeed. The Russians are sending a fleet, with five thousand men, into the Mediterranean, and the Venetians are also arming a fleet. The Turks have raised numerous flocks of armed men: their cavalry, which, in the first shock, is not despicable,

has, it is said, surrounded three thousand of the Austrians, and cut off their heads, as is usual among them. They also had a successful skirmish against the Russians, but there is no doubt of the advantage which such disciplined armies as those of the allied empires are will have over a banditti of men who are total strangers to discipline, military knowledge, and rational calculations; they may succeed with detached corps, but must disperse before the main body of their enemies. The only difficulties will be the want of provisions, the barrenness of the country, and the danger of the plague, and should the imperial courts, notwithstanding these embarrassments, go as far as Constantinople, there they will find a bone of contention to know who may possess that metropolis.

The King of Prussia has taken no part as yet. Poland is uneasy, and fears to lose something in the general arrangement. Holland is making a treaty with Prussia, and one with England. Nothing in Great Britain has the appearance of a war. France wants peace at any rate. Spain is arming, and objects to the entrance of the Russians in the Mediterranean, but will probably yield to the demands of France. It is not improbable that the two imperial courts will, after one campaign, content themselves for the present with a considerable increase of their possessions. But it may also be foreseen that a war might be kindled throughout all Europe, and end with the total destruction of the Ottoman empire in Europe; so that it is not easy to determine which of the two events will take place.

The internal affairs of France are not yet settled. Many considerable reforms have taken place in the expenditure, but a great deficiency still subsists, and

as the parliaments have declared themselves unfit to assent to taxes, the provincial assemblies not being yet the representatives of the people, I think the king will be obliged to assemble the nation sooner than is expected by his ministers. The printed account of the finances is to come out in a few days. I know that government intends to postpone the states-general to the latest period consistent with their engagement, which is before 1792; but I believe this desirable event will take place next summer twelve months: it is the only way to put things to rights, and to fix unalterable principles in the administration of the country.

I have some reasons for thinking that government is preparing an attack on the parliaments, who, although they are only a judicial court, have shewn a spirit of resistance, and refused to register any new tax until the states-general have met.

The troops have been divided into three armies and grand divisions. The four generals will be marshals of France. The grand divisions under lieutenant-generals. I have asked to be employed with the Duke d'Ayen, my father-in-law, in the southern provinces, and am the oldest general officer under him. The command of us major-generals are called brigades. The corps of light infantry will be added to my regiments: we shall serve two months.

Adieu, my dear general; my best respects wait on Mrs. Washington and family. With these tender respects and filial love, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, May 25th, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—In the midst of our internal troubles, it is a comfort to me that I may rejoice in the happy prospects that open before my adopted country. Accounts from America give me every reason to hope the new constitution will be adopted. Permit me once more, my beloved general, to insist on your acceptance of the presidency. The constitution as it is proposed answered most of the purposes; but, unless I am much mistaken, there are some parts which would not be quite free from some danger, had not the United States the good fortune to possess their guardian angel, who may feel the advantages and inconveniences of every article, and will be able, before he retires again, to ascertain to what degree government must necessarily be energetic, what power might be diverted to a bad use, and to point out the means for attaining that perfection to which the new constitution is already nearer than any past or present government.

The affairs of France are come to a crisis, the more difficult to manage, as the people in general have no inclination to go to extremities. Liberty or death is not the motto on this side of the Atlantic, and as all classes are more or less dependent, as the rich love their ease, and the poor are depressed by want and ignorance, the only way is to reason or persuade the nation into a kind of passive discontent, or non-obedience, which may outlive the levity, and undo the plans, of government. The parliament, notwithstanding the inconveniences attending them, have been the necessary champions to stand forth. You

will see by the publications, for we have sent over everything; that the king has assumed pretensions, and the courts of justice have stated principles, which differ so widely that one could hardly believe those assertions are made in the same country and century. Matters could not rest there; government have employed the force of arms against unarmed magistrates and expelled them.—And the people, will you say? —The people, my dear general, have been so dull, that it has made me sick, and physicians have been obliged to cool my inflamed blood. What has the more wounded my nerves is, a bed of justice, wherein the king has established a *cour plénière*, composed of judges, peers, and courtiers, without a single representative, and the impudence of the ministers, who have dared to say, that all taxes and loans should be registered. Thank God, we have got the better of them, and I begin to hope for a constitution. The magistrates have refused sitting in the *cour plénière;* the peers, who are thirty-eight, a few of whom have sense and courage, will not, however, obey. Some, like my friend La Rochefoucauld, behaved nobly; the others follow at a distance. The parliaments have unanimously protested, and made an appeal to the nation. Most of the inferior courts reject the new engine. Discontents break out everywhere, and in some provinces are not despicable. The clergy, who happen to have an assembly, are remonstrating; the lawyers refuse to plead; government is embarrassed, and begins to apologize; the commandants have been, in some parts, pursued with dirt and stones, and in the midst of these troubles and anarchy the friends of liberty are daily reinforced; shut their ears against negotiations, and insist on having a national assembly or nothing. Such is, my dear general, our improving situation, and I am, for my

part, very easy, when I think that I shall, before long, be in an assembly of the representatives of the French nation, or at Mount Vernon.*

I am so taken up with these affairs that I can tell you but little of European politics. My disapprobation of ministerial plans, and what little exertions I could make against them, have induced me to cease my visits to the archbishop's house, and the more I have been connected with him and the keeper of the seals, the greater indignation I have professed against their infernal plan. I am glad our American arrêt du conseil has taken place before the full tide of these troubles, and am now, through other ministers, endeavouring to bring about a plan for the total enfranchisement of duties on the whale oil, which would put the American merchants on the same footing with the French, even with respect to bounties, and that without obliging the fishermen to leave their native shores. Should we succeed in that, our next object must be the trade with the West Indies. I am happy in

* The 4th of January, the parliament had protested against the *lettres de cachet*, and the exile of two of its members. This decision having been broken by the king's council the 17th, they renewed it the 18th. At length, on the 3rd of May, they issued a celebrated mandate, in which they proclaimed some principles of public liberty, and the necessity of the convocation of the general states. It was on this occasion that, on the 5th, an officer of the garde du corps, escorted by the Swiss guards, entered the grand chamber to arrest two counsellors. The 8th, the king held a court of justice, to order the registering of some edicts that prescribed various reforms in the judicial organization; to deprive the parliaments of the right of registering, and transfer that right to one sole and supreme court, formed by himself, under the name of *cour plénière*, of princes, peers, magistrates, prelates, and military men. On the 16th, the *châtelet* rendered a decree against those edicts, and the parliaments, one after the other, protested against them.

the ambassador we have in this country, and nothing can exceed Mr. Jefferson's abilities, virtues, pleasing temper, and everything in him that constitutes the great statesman, zealous citizen, and amiable friend. He has a young gentleman with him, M. Short, a Virginian, who is a very able, engaging, and honest man. This letter will be delivered by M. de Warville,* a man of letters, who has written a pamphlet against Chastellux's journal, but is, however, very clever, and wishes very much to be presented to you. He intends to write the history of America, and is, of course, very desirous to have a peep into your papers, which appears to me a deserved condescension, as he is very fond of America, writes pretty well, and will set matters in a proper light. He has an officer with him, whom I also beg leave to recommend. M. de la Tenière is his name.

But, to come to politics, I must tell you that the war between the imperial powers and the Turks is going on. The emperor has made several attempts, but there is a fatality in that man, which makes him ever begin and never finish anything. The skirmishes have generally been doubtful; he has taken a town, but was severely brushed in another assault, and the same day met with a second defeat. Those matters, however trifling, shew that the Turks are either very ill attacked or more lucky than we could have expected. The siege of Belgrade will be the grand expedition, and is not yet begun. There has been a junction made of the Austrians and Russians in another quarter, but they have not the means to operate. The grand army of the Russians are moving towards Oczakow, which Prince Potemkin,

* M. Brissot de Warville, since deputy of the national convention.

a former lover and the bosom friend of the empress, is going to besiege. Paul Jones has entered the Russian service, and will command a squadron on the Black Sea. All the powers are negotiating for a peace; but, at the same time, Spain, Sweden, and Denmark, are arming. These will be fleets of observation, and it is expected that a peace will take place this winter. We must of course wish for decisive action; should they be unfavourable to the Russians it may disgust them, and you never can get a concession from the Turks, until the prophet has shown his displeasure by suffering them to be flogged. In case both parties maintain their ground, a general war is apprehended for the next year.

I beg, my dear general, you will present my respects, &c.

I had a letter from M. de Moustier, who (between us) appears to me not well pleased. We must humour him a little, that his representations may be favourable. It is said that the Russian fleet destined for the Mediterranean is countermanded, although Spain had consented: how far this is certain I do not know. I have just received an official communication of a resolve, signed by three hundred gentlemen of the order of noblesse in Britanny, *declaring it infamous* to receive a place in the new administration, to which I have very plainly given my assent. Adieu, my dear general.

Tuesday evening.*

It is said that the princes and peers will be convoked this week, to hear the king's intentions in

* This letter forms a part of those family or friendly letters, from which M. de Lafayette, many years after writing them,

respect to the general states. Others believe that a decree of council only will be issued to establish various questions in relation to the convocation, and to submit them to the provincial assemblies; perhaps a sort of assembly of notables from each province will be named to regulate the formalities. Whatever may be the case, it is evident that the ministers hope, by employing artifice, to gain time, and avoid giving any clear explanation of what is passing at the present moment. This is an unfortunate decision for public affairs, for the king, and for themselves; it can only tend to increase the want of confidence. Others will become bold because they must yield, and yet they will not do enough to induce good citizens to unite with them. The Duke of Guiche is set out for Béarn; he is the bearer of words of peace. I know that the ministers have wished to satisfy la Provence, by separating her interests from those of the rest of the kingdom, but she herself rejected such a proposal. The noblemen of Britanny are to deliver their memorial to the king in whatever place they may chance to find him. This embassy will somewhat embarrass the government. The parliament of Rouen assembled to charge the prime minister and the keeper of the

had caused those passages to be extracted which related to his own historical recollections. These detached extracts, which are often without dates, will frequently appear in this collection. The date of this letter cannot be given with accuracy; but it must have been written in the midst of the troubles which arose from the creation of the plenary court. These troubles were very serious in Dauphiné, in Béarn, and at Rennes. The States of Britanny sent twelve deputies chosen from the nobility to Versailles, to appease the public agitation. Government ordered, by a decree of council of 5th July, that researches should be made upon the elections and the assemblies of the general states. This letter must have been written in the month of June.

seals with infamy, and to declare the decrees of the *grand bailliage* completely void.* Liancourt writes me word, that they have only been able to find seven persons for that of Soissons. The present situation of affairs confirms me in the opinion that something will be done, and that in a very few days.

I am writing to you on my return from M. Necker's, where I introduced M. Paulus, a Dutch patriot; I had not been to his house since his departure from Paris. If the Archbishop of Sens be dissatisfied with me, he must see at least that I am not governed by party spirit.

Paris, Wednesday, 1788.

I THANK you from the bottom of my heart for your letter from B——. I detest acting the part of an evil prophet, and of a courier of calamity. It is with bitter grief that I foresee that C—— will learn from me the half bankruptcy that followed the decree of the general states.† The sovereign courts acknowledged, a year ago, their own incompetence: I was then desirous that the general states should be appointed; I wished then that parlia-

* One of the edicts of the 8th of May, to weaken the parliaments, extended the jurisdiction of *baillaiges*, and in the larger towns, formed tribunals of the second order, called *grands bailliages*, into tribunals without appeal in criminal cases, and in civil matters, in all affairs in which the value of the contested property did not exceed the sum of 20,000 livres.

† The 8th of August, a decree of the great council, fixed the 1st of May, 1789, for the meeting of the general states, and suspended, until that period, the establishment of the plenary court, without recurring to any reforms in the judicial order, or assembling the parliament, which had been forced to remain idle for several months. At the same time, the financial em-

mentary abuses should be destroyed, and that the king should appear, like Charlemagne, in the midst of his nation, which he had voluntarily convoked. Ministers have said that I was a republican, and persons calling themselves prudent have said I was too vehement. They began by sacrificing French honour in Holland; they lost time whilst endeavouring to gain or force the parliaments; they afterwards wished to form a despotic court of justice, that they might act without the consent of other courts; they said that the opposition only sprung from the ministers and some imprudent thoughtless men. They were obliged at length to acknowledge that the resistance was a national one; that the plenary court was impossible; and that the general states were necessary: but there exists one point of difference between my opinion, which was so slightingly spoken of, and the conduct of the government, and that is, that the announcement of the general states, which, eight months before, would have turned all heads with joy, appeared a forced measure; that the parliaments, of whom the public were, generally speaking, dissatisfied, have inherited the respect which was once felt for the court; and that, owing to the long delay of the general states, the decree of council is attached to that of a partial bankruptcy. I send you this *new regulation for the formalities of payment;* you will see whether the glory and authority of the king would have been injured by following my

barrassments being very great, a decree of council of the 16th of August, legalized delays and suspensions of payment; and another of the 18th, gave a forced currency to notes of the discount bank. This letter was necessarily written between the 18th, the date of that decree, and the 25th, date of the disgrace of M. de Brienne.

advice, and you will reflect upon the danger that exists in this country in being a little in advance of the opinions of those by whom you are surrounded. I cannot speak on this subject, I own, without a mingled feeling of grief and anger; I had flattered myself that tranquillity would reappear, that the ministers would regain public confidence, and that all persons would unite to labour with them for the public good; and I, a simple individual, wrote and told all my friends and acquaintance that now that the general states were appointed, and the plenary court destroyed, it was necessary to detach themselves from all kinds of opposition, which would only appear like party spirit. I said and wrote things for which I shall now be laughed at, and for which, if I were not so well-known, I might even be suspected of insincerity, and this cursed suspension destroys all the merit of the general states, and displeases all those who may suffer from it. People go even further, and believe that the ministers wish to avoid the general states. This is an absurd idea, and such is not, I am certain, their intention; they would not even dare propose this measure to a monarch of such integrity as ours; they would not do so; the first result of this fear would be a cessation of imposts in the whole kingdom. But, however, this will be said, and the dissatisfaction and want of confidence will be increased. I spent an hour yesterday with a counsellor of my acquaintance; I told him how ridiculous it was of parliament to occupy itself at such a moment with its own private interests. I made him acknowledge the utility of some *bailliages*, and the necessity of giving the government the means of going on until the month of May. I repeated to him, ten times, that I esteemed

him too much to suppose he was what is called a parliamentary man; I represented to him that we ought to feel obliged to the ministers for having announced the general states, and for suspending the plenary court, two very important points. Imagine the embarrassment I felt, when, on my return into my own room, M. le Coulteux brought me that cursed decree of the council; I was almost as much ashamed of it as if I had drawn it up myself. I believe that the government ought to hasten to give additional certainty to the general states, by announcing the formalities to be observed, the despatch of letters, &c. These measures would tend a little to reanimate public confidence, which must else diminish every day. I have said a great deal upon politics, but you sympathize so kindly in all that interests me, and this interests me so deeply that it does me good to open my heart to you. Those who think that heart a turbulent one, are but little acquainted with its real feelings; but those who think it firm, have formed, in truth, a just opinion. I should like to see you once more before entering into my thirty-second year, for, young as I am considered, I shall have lived, the 6th of September, three hundred and seventy-two months.

Paris is in a state of great consternation; the troops have been doubled, and measures of precaution taken. But although bread has increased in price, there are no commotions and no crowds, and the rush upon the discount bank has much lessened.

Paris, Thursday evening.

I THINK with pleasure that you will take some steps to meet my letters, and that if it should still

find you enjoying the honours of feodality, you will at least have approached nearer to our frontiers. I must take leave of your father by sending him a gazette. Tell him that the archbishop set out for Sens and Brienne, after having passed two hours at Trianon; that the departure of the keeper of the seals is still very doubtful.* M. de Montholon or the Bishop of Arras is spoken of to replace him; but I think I may with certainty declare, that this very day it was proposed to parliament to enter provisionally with the keeper of the seals. I know not why they refuse to do so; for if laws be withdrawn they cannot demand the sacrifice of persons, but I cannot conceive why the keeper of the seals should choose to remain.

Much private hatred has mingled itself on all sides with this discussion. I am but little of a parliamentaire, as you know, and whatever be the arrangements made, the magistracy must pass through the crucible of the general states, which will assemble in the month of January. It is believed that M. Necker will support himself until that time, without making any new loans, by causing the old ones to be filled up, bringing his own talents into full action, and appealing strongly to the public confidence. We shall see what formalities he will propose for the convocation of the general states, which is not impossible, as it was once considered, but is not very easy, if they wish to unite former customs with reason. Have you seen the decision of the Bourguignon nobility. I know not whether the authors of it

* M. de Lamoignon only gave up the seals the 27th of August, and the parliament re-entered. M. Necker had retaken his place in council on the 26th, with the title of *director of finance*. This letter must have been written on that day or on the following one.

fancied they could sleep at home in safety; but if they did wrong in assembling, they certainly added no other crime to that one. I am very weary of your absence; my heart counts the days that have passed away and those that still remain; the former increases in number at the end of all those absences, as shadows lengthen with the closing day.

You are uneasy about my situation at court; it is precisely this: M. de Calonne has made all his circle quarrel with me, and the Archbishop of Sens is dissatisfied with me. Those two influential persons attack each other mutually, but both unite in blaming me as much as any person can desire. It is impossible that my justification should ever issue from that circle, or that my conscience should allow me to enter upon it.

Paris, Monday, 1788.

I HOPE to be at * * * during the first days of next week, but it will be only, probably, to return immediately to Paris. It is settled that the ancient notables are to be assembled, and charged with the convocation of the general states.* This plan was formed by M. Necker. I fear it will delay too much that assembly, on which we depend for preservation; that it will put off the elections until the middle of winter, which would render it impossible in some provinces to form election assemblies which the

* The 23rd of September, a declaration of the king ordered the assembling of the general states, and the 5th of October, a decree of the council convoked again the notables to deliberate upon the manner of proceeding towards the formation of the general states in 1789. This was the same period as the date of this letter.

snow would prevent meeting. I should prefer in short, the project that was first conceived of forming a well composed commission. I do not think, between ourselves, that the notables are very clever respecting constitutional points. They are to assemble on the 3rd of November: something must be decided by the end of the month. The convocation will meet in December. In that assembly of notables some very curious interviews must take place.

November 19, 1788.

I AM at present in excellent health, and shall reappear in a good state at the assembly of notables. This is the anniversary of the capture of Lord Cornwallis; that day closed a campaign of which the recollection gives me great pleasure. You are right in supposing that such a bad opinion is entertained of me at court, that my connexion with the counsellors of parliament must be completely broken up; but it is impossible to change one's circle of acquaintance as frequently as the king changes his ministers. My acquaintance among that body, and above all, M. Duport,* to whom I am affectionately attached, are all men of integrity, knowledge, and patriotism: they are less parliamentary than many ministers, and no person can be less so than myself. My intentions are, however, pure, my feelings are disinterested, and my mind is not biassed by party spirit; my conscience and the confidence of the public are my two supporters; if I were to lose the second, the first would suffice to sustain me.

* Adrien Duport, member of the constituent assembly.

Chavaniac, March 8th, 1789.*

I AM in truth in better health here than in Paris, and I am preparing myself quietly for the difficult tasks awaiting me. Divisions and jealousies subsist here between the different orders, cantons, and individuals. I have the disadvantage of struggling with an interested audience, acquainted with my opinions, and ready to oppose them. Some of my friends amongst the nobles have signified to me that by making certain concessions I should be unanimously elected, but not without making them. I answered that I wished to convince and not to flatter. The tiers wished to go farther, and that would have offered me a chance of celebrity. I preached moderation at the risk of giving dissatisfaction. It is possible that, instead of being named, I should only gain the enmity of many persons and the esteem of others; but their tyranny and selfishness excite my indignation. I am going, on Wednesday, to Riom, and shall remain there until my departure for Saint Flour, the 21st; the three orders of the town have requested me to repair thither; but I have been exposed to as much ill nature in Upper as in Lower Auvergne, and this extended to all those who professed being my partisans. I have, at least, the pleasure of restoring peace to a small town in my neighbourhood, in which the inhabitants were all tearing each other to pieces. They write me word from Puy that there is a strong party against my friend Maubourg.† The bishop and the Polignac family are labouring against him; but we shall carry the day.

* This letter was written during the elections. M. de Lafayette was elected member of the order of nobility for the jurisdiction of Riom.

† M. de Latour Maubourg, deputy of the nobility of the seneschal's jurisdiction of Puy-en-Vélay, prisoner at Olmütz, with M. de Lafayette. He died peer of France in 1831.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Mount Vernon, 1788.*

I CAN say very little or nothing new, in consequence of the repetition of your opinion on the expediency there will be for my accepting the office to which you refer. Your sentiments, indeed, coincide much more nearly with those of my other friends, than with my own feelings. In truth, my difficulties increase and magnify as I draw towards the period, when, according to the common belief, it will be necessary for me to give a definitive answer, in one way or other. Should circumstances render it, in a manner, inevitably necessary to be in the affirmative, be assured, my dear sir, I shall assume the task with the most unfeigned reluctance, and with a real diffidence, for which I shall probably receive no credit in the world. If I know my own heart, nothing short of a conviction of duty will induce me again to take an active part in public affairs, and in that case, if I can form a plan for my own conduct, my endeavours shall be unremittingly exerted, even at the hazard of my former fame or present popularity, to extricate my country from the embarrassments in which it is entangled, through want of credit, and to establish a general system of policy, which, if pursued, will ensure permanent felicity to the commonwealth. I think I see a path as clear and as direct as a ray of light, which leads to the attainment of that object. Nothing but harmony, honesty, industry, and frugality, are necessary to make us a

* It may be seen that this letter preceded a very short time the event of Washington's election to the presidency of the United States. He was elected in the month of March, 1789.

great and happy people. Happily, the present posture of affairs, and the prevailing disposition of my countrymen, promise to co-operate in establishing these four great and essential pillars of public felicity.*

* We have none of the letters of M. de Lafayette to Washington from the 25th May, 1788, to the 12th January, 1790. They must undoubtedly have been lost; for it will seem that even after the beginning of the French revolution, he found time to write frequently to his former general. In our manuscript collection of Washington's letters, we perceive an equally long vacuum. It is true that the correspondence of that period has not yet been published by Mr. Sparks. The fragment of a letter we publish here is extracted from "Marshall's Life of Washington."

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

NOTICE OF THE EDITORS.

FROM the assembling of the general states to the 18th *Brumaire*, the life of General Lafayette may be thus divided:

1st. From the month of May, 1789, to the month of October, 1791, that is to say, during all the labours of the constituent assembly, and of the command of the national guard by its first chief;

2d. From the month of October, 1791, to the month of August, 1792; during that interval, which embraced rather more than a year, the legislative assembly succeeded to the constituent assembly, General Lafayette commanded the northern army, and the events of the 10th of August obliged him to seek an asylum in a neutral country;

3d. From the month of August, 1792 to the month of September, 1797. These are the five years of captivity of General Lafayette in the prisons of the coalition;

4th. From the period of his deliverance from prison, September, 1797, to the month of November, 1799, when, after the 18th *Brumaire*, he returned to France.

For these periods, materials have not failed.

We have already seen that, in 1829, General Lafayette began, himself, to collect, from the year 1784, his speeches, motions, or proposals in various assemblies, and that he often added to these an

account of the circumstances from whence they sprung.

Amongst these documents, we find several opinions addressed to his friends; detached articles upon the principal persons, and most important events, of the revolution; notes on various works; and a sufficient number of letters written during the ten years upon which we are now entering.

PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS.

I DO not deny that the subjoined articles, extracted from newspapers and other publications of the time, no longer retain the interest they formerly possessed.* The incorrect style of several of these speeches or writings of the day, the imperfect manner in which many of them were copied, and the peculiar nature of the events of that period, might also discourage a writer who aimed at obtaining literary fame, or even a public man who feared the severity of the present generation.

But I experience a difficulty that appears to me far greater, when thus placing before the public materials relating to a period of general agitation: for, to render these fragments intelligible, I am obliged to connect them by explanations and quotations which describe, often in very flattering terms, my own peculiar situation. The reader, by recurring to the sources from whence I draw these extracts, will perceive that I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to separate them from expressions which it would be improper in me to repeat. Too many of the kind, I am conscious, still remain; but he will perhaps recollect that the vicissitudes I have experienced of prosperity and misfortune,

* These preliminary reflections were written, in 1814, for a first collection of speeches and historical sketches, re-inserted in the collection of 1829, from whence we draw our text.

kindness and injustice, produced but little effect upon me, even at the time they constituted my political existence.

I shall have fulfilled, at least, my principal object; which is to shew once more what have been, at all periods, the doctrines and conduct of the true friends of liberty; to point out the wide difference that exists, in the very same degree, between them and the avowed enemies of the national cause, and those mad or culpable disturbers of the public weal who, usurping the name of patriots, have ruined or stained the holy cause of liberty, and thus made themselves the auxiliaries, and often accomplices, of aristocracy and despotism.

It would be more easy for our adversaries to calumniate our intentions than to quote, during the whole course of my life, one opinion or action that is not conformable to the sentiments I have expressed in these memoirs. If they pretend to find some contradiction in my ardour for liberal innovations and my devotion to public order, I shall reply to them as I did to the Marquis de Chasteler, when that general was sent, in 1797, from Vienna to the prisoners of Olmütz,—"There is, in my opinion, no greater disorder than that of an arbitrary government."

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

A RELATION OF EVENTS

FROM THE 5TH OF MAY TO THE 16TH OF JULY, 1789.*

I.

When the government found itself obliged to convoke the general states, in 1788, on the return of M. Necker, the assembly of notables of the preceding year was convened to regulate its formalities. We neither possess the speeches that were pronounced there in support of the principle of the doubling of the *tiers-état*, nor the discussions of the private meetings held in Paris, of which the most remarkable one was at the house of Adrien Duport.

It was there that the question was agitated, whether the nobles of the popular party should endeavour to represent the commons in preference to the nobles. Lafayette was of opinion that such should be the case. He was successfully opposed by Mirabeau; and in consequence of the resolution passed, the former became a deputy of the nobility, whilst Mirabeau, rejected by the aristocracy of la

* Extract from the collection made in 1829, entitled, *Collection of several Speeches of General Lafayette.*

Provence, was forced to become a candidate in the popular party.

It was after a speech of Lafayette, in reply to some other speeches, that the nobility of the seneschal's jurisdiction of Auvergne abandoned almost the whole of their pecuniary privileges; but by a clause posterior to the election, they obliged their deputies to await the majority of the chamber before they united themselves to that of the *tiers-état*,—a painful, but not durable condition, which the members of the minority, on whom it had been imposed, carefully fulfilled, not from machiavélism, as has been asserted, but merely from respect to their constituents. They were even awaiting, ere giving their votes in the assembly, for fresh specified powers, which were preparing, when, soon after, the chambers having assembled, the conspiracy of the court against the assembly left neither time nor choice for any other alternative than that of complete subjection or an immediate revolution.

The 8th July, Mirabeau made his celebrated motion for sending away the troops that surrounded the assembly and threatened Paris. It was on the point of being adjourned, by a reference to the committees, when Lafayette, for the first time, asked leave to speak. "There are," said he, "but two motives for sending a proposal to the committees; when doubts remain respecting any fact that should be examined, or when doubts exist upon the resolution to be taken. Gentlemen, the presence of troops summoned around this assembly is a fact which is evident to each of us. As to the resolution that should, in such a case, be taken, I will not insult the members of this assembly by believing that either of us can for a moment hesitate. I do not, therefore, content myself by merely supporting

the motion of M. de Mirabeau; I demand, instead of the rejection pronounced by the president, that the chamber should be instantly put to the vote." The motion passed, and Mirabeau drew up the admirable address which was carried the next day to the king, and only obtained a refusal.

The peril was, however, increasing; the dismissal of Necker and his friends* had been resolved upon. The national assembly was surrounded by troops, chiefly foreigners; that night or the following day an attack was to have been made on Paris, twelve members of the assembly were to be seized, to make, as was then said, an immediate example of them; a new ministry was named;† the king was on the point of dissolving the chambers and repairing to Compiègne, when, on the 11th of July, conformably to the principles of the *American era*, was presented, no concession, or petition for rights,—but the first declaration of rights that had been proclaimed in Europe.

"The 11th of July," says the minutes of the assembly, "M. de Lafayette established two practical uses to be derived from a declaration of rights.

"The first one is to recal the sentiments that nature has engraven in the heart of each individual, but which acquire new force when they are acknowledged by all men; their development is of greater importance, because it suffices for a nation to be acquainted with liberty, to love it, and to determine to be free, to become so.

"The second use is the expression of those truths from whence all institutions spring, and which must

* MM. de Montmorin and de Saint Priest.

† MM. de Breteuil, la Galaisière, de Broglie, de la Porte, and Foulon.

prove a faithful guide to the representatives of the nation, engaged, themselves, in labouring in her cause, to lead them ever back to natural and social rights.

"He conceived that this declaration ought to cease the moment the government undergoes a certain and definite modification, like monarchy in France; and postponing to another time, according to the proposed plan, the organization of the legislative body, the royal sanction that constitutes a part of it, &c., he thought he ought to designate beforehand the principle of the division of power. He added, that a declaration of rights need possess no other merits than those of truth and precision; that it ought to express what every person thinks, and what every person feels; and that the conviction of this alone could have induced him to draw up a sketch, which he requested the assembly to send to the committees for examination, in the hope that this first essay would lead other members to present better essays, which he would most willingly himself select in preference to his own."

FIRST EUROPEAN DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MEN AND CITIZENS.

"NATURE has formed men free and equal; the distinctions necessary to social order are only founded upon general utility.

"Every man is born with inalienable rights; such as liberty of opinion, the care of his own honour and life, the right of property, the entire disposal of his person, industry, and of all his faculties, the communication of thought in every possible manner, the power of seeking for his own advantage, and of resisting oppression.

"The exercise of natural rights has no other limits than those that secure the same privileges to other members of society.

"A man can only be subjected to laws to which he, or his representatives, have given their consent, and which have been previously promulgated and legally applied.

"The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation. No individual nor body of men can possess any authority which does not immediately emanate from thence.

"The sole aim of all governments is the common good, which requires that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, should be distinct and definite, and that their organization should secure the free representation of citizens, the responsibility of agents, and the impartiality of judges.

"Laws must be clear, precise, and uniform for all citizens.

"Subsidies must be freely granted, and divided in just proportions.

"And as the introduction of abuses, and the rights of succeeding generations, render necessary the revision of all human institutions, it must be in the power of the nation to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary convocation of deputies, whose sole object must be to examine and correct, if necessary, the vices of the constitution."

The summary of the speech, and the declaration of rights, were printed the night of the 11th, and many copies of them were circulated in Paris. It is evident that the latter served as a basis for the declaration afterwards adopted by the constituent assembly.

The situation of affairs was becoming more hostile and alarming. Violent commotions had broken

out in Paris on the 12th of July. Mirabeau had denounced the scenes that occurred around the palace; and, urged to name the instigators, he demanded that the members should first declare that the king alone was inviolable. The deputations to the monarch only brought back sinister refusals.

We find in Bailly's Journal the following proposal:—

July 13th, 1789.

"M. de Lafayette demanded instantly that the ministers should be declared responsible for present events and their consequences. The motion was supported by MM. Target and Gleizen. The assembly voted unanimously in favour of this measure.

"It was resolved that the meeting should be prolonged and permanent until fresh orders were given; that a certain portion of deputies should pass the night there; that the remainder should come and relieve them at an early hour in the morning. But as the good old Archbishop of Vienna could not have borne so much fatigue, it was proposed to name a vice-president for the occasion. The votes of the committees were taken, and M. de Lafayette was appointed.

"M. de Lafayette rose to return thanks; and said,—'Gentlemen, at any other moment I would recal to you my incapacity and peculiar situation;* but the circumstances are such, that my first feeling is, to accept with transport the honour you confer on me, and to exercise with zeal the func-

* Bound by his engagements, he did not yet think that he had the right of voting; it was from the period of that vice-presidency that he conceived that the force of circumstances completely enfranchised him.

tions of this post under our respected president; and my first duty is, never to separate myself from the efforts you are making to maintain and consolidate public peace."

We see in the official documents of the national assembly, July 13th, 1789, of which an extract was sent to the electors of Paris, that the deliberation respecting the responsibility of ministers, presented to the king by the president, printed, published, and sent to the retired ministers, bears the signatures of Lafayette, vice-president, Mounier, the Abbé Sieyes, Chapelier, Grégorie, Stanislas de Clermont Tonnerre.

During that vice-presidency, which station he alone filled, and that only for the space of three days, Lafayette received deputations from Paris.

The cause of the nation triumphed, the Bastille was taken.* The morning of the 15th, the king, accompanied by his brothers, came without any escort to the assembly, which he called, for the first time, national, announced that the troops were sent away, and requested its support for the re-establishment of peace. A deputation set out for Paris, and the speech of the vice-president, at the Hotel de Ville, is thus detailed in the reports of the electors:—

"July 15th, 1789.—M. de Lafayette congratulated the assembly of electors, and all the citizens of Paris, upon the liberty they had gained by their courage, and upon the peace and hap-

* A deputation, headed by the vice-president, was on the point of repairing to the king, to speak to him with the energy the occasion required, when he appeared in the assembly; it was in consequence of that reconciliation that a numerous deputation was sent to Paris.

piness which they would owe to the justice of a beneficent and undeceived monarch.

"He said that the national assembly acknowledged, with pleasure, that all France was indebted for the constitution which would secure its felicity to the great efforts the Parisians had just made for public liberty.

"He related that the national assembly, grieved by the ill success of two deputations they sent to the king, on Monday the 13th, to demand that the troops should be sent away, after having passed a night of agitation in their place of meeting, had resolved in the morning to select a deputation, composed of twenty-four persons, charged with presenting to the monarch the expression of their grief and alarm, when the grand-master of ceremonies came to announce to the assembly that the king was preparing to repair thither in person.

"He said that, half an hour after, the king entered the hall of the national assembly, without any guards, accompanied only by Monsieur and the Count d'Artois.

"He announced that he was going to read aloud the speech delivered by the king on that memorable occasion, and that he would deposit a certified copy of it with the committee, that it might be annexed to the reports of the assembly of electors.

"He described, also, in what manner the members of the assembly had precipitated themselves upon the steps of his Majesty when he retired; forming a circle around his august person, and reconducting him in triumph to the palace, amidst a vast concourse of persons transported with joy at this novel spectacle.

"M. de Lafayette's speech, and the king's speech, which he read, were interrupted, almost at every sentence, by loud applause, and unanimous exclamations of—*Long live the king! long live the nation!*"

CREATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

THE day of his election, (15th July,) Lafayette was ignorant that at an early hour of that morning he had been unanimously proclaimed commander-in-chief of the Parisian militia, by the electors and a crowd of citizens, who filled the Hotel de Ville; but when the deputies of the national assembly were

preparing to separate, fresh acclamations apprized him of this event.

Several towns of France had possessed citizen-guards before the revolution. The most celebrated of them was the Lyons guard.

Mirabeau, in his motion of July the 8th, for sending away the troops, had demanded that the king should be entreated to order that, in the towns of Paris and Versailles, citizen-guards should be appointed to maintain peace under the king's command. This motion was warmly supported by Lafayette, MM. Chapelier, and Sieyes. M. de Biauzat demanded that the proposal of the citizen-guards should be adjourned, (for it was owing to an error that, in the collection of the labours of Mirabeau, the words, until then unknown, of *national guards* were used.) It was agreed by a large majority, that no mention should be made of them in the address. However, an elector, M. Bonneville, on the 10th July, spoke of them at the Hotel de Ville of Paris.

On the 12th, the day after the presentation of the declaration of rights to the national assembly, and of its publication in the capital, some brawls had arisen between the Parisians and the German troops. On the morning of the 13th, the deputation of the assembly to the king had represented to him, in addition to the danger of troops, whose presence irritated the people, the necessity of confiding the guard of the city to the militia. The king replied:—"I have already made known to you my intentions relating to the measures that the disorders of Paris have forced me to take. It is for me alone to judge of their necessity, and I can make no change in this respect. Some towns may be able to guard themselves, but the extent of this

capital renders a protection of this kind inadequate."

In consequence of this reply, and on a motion of Lafayette, the assembly, by an unanimous vote, immediately passed that celebrated decree, of which one article declares—

"That, alarmed by the dreadful results the king's speech may occasion, they will never cease to insist upon the removal of the troops, and the establishment of citizen-guards.

That same day, July 13th, the permanent committee of Paris electors organized a citizen-guard. The clerks of the palace of justice, and of the Châtelet, the pupils of surgery, and the French guards, offered their services. The young men seized upon some arms that had been deposited at the Hotel des Invalides; the committee substituted a blue and red cockade, the town colours, for the green cockade that had been at first assumed.

On the 14th, MM. Bancal and Ganilh, deputies of the electors, presented themselves to the assembly; the citizen-guard, which was scarcely formed, had procured some degree of tranquillity during the night. The arrival of a squadron of hussars spread general alarm. A deputation was sent to the governor of the Bastille; he fired upon the deputation,—which fact has been affirmed by the king's attorney, M. de Corny. A letter, ordering the governor of the Bastille to defend himself, increased the fury of the people, who, at the departure of the deputies, marched upon the fortress. Lafayette, who was presiding at the national assembly, replied to those deputies of the Hotel de Ville, that the assembly had just sent a numerous deputation to the king, and requested them to await its return.

"Apprized of the formation of a citizen-guard," said the king, "I have given orders to some general officers to place themselves at the head of that guard, to aid it by their experience, and second the zeal of good citizens. I have likewise ordered that the troops stationed in the Champ de Mars should quit Paris."

On the morning of the 15th, it was, however, believed at the Hotel de Ville, that the king's troops were to make an attack. Letters of various officers had been intercepted, saying, "We are marching upon the enemy," and advising their friends to sally forth immediately. The provost of merchants, Flesselles, had been assassinated; commanders had been appointed during the confusion of the taking of the Bastille; M. de La Salle offered his resignation. A M. de La Barthe had proposed himself, and was on the point of being accepted, when the people suddenly became displeased with him, and, upon a vague suspicion, pursued him with the intention of killing him.

At that moment of tumult and alarm, Moreau de Saint Méry, president of the electors, pointed to the bust of Lafayette, given in 1784 by the State of Virginia to the town of Paris, and placed in the great hall of the Hotel de Ville. He had scarcely began to speak, when acclamations arose on every side, and Lafayette was unanimously proclaimed.* That same bust, some time previous to the 10th of August, became the source of daily quarrels between the Jacobins, who wished to have it re-

* MM. Moreau de Saint Méry, president, contented himself with shewing the bust of M. de Lafayette. That gesture excited a deep sensation. All the electors united in voting for him.—(Official Report of the Electors.)

moved, and the national guard, who wished it to remain.

These quarrels were on the point of becoming sanguinary; on the 10th of August, the bust was reduced to atoms, and a medal voted by the town, bearing the effigy of Lafayette, was broken by the public executioner, on the demand, and in the presence, of Danton.

But when they learnt the dismissal of the new ministers, the recal of M. Necker and his colleagues, the resolution the king had taken of repairing in person to the national assembly, the order given to the troops to quit Paris and Versailles,—when the deputation of more than sixty members,—headed by Lafayette, was received in triumph,—and after the speech of Lafayette, of MM. de Lally and Clermont Tonnerre, who spoke also with much effect,—every voice proclaimed again the commander-in-chief of the Parisian militia.

" M. de Lafayette," says the report of the Hotel de Ville, " accepting that honour with every mark of respect and gratitude, then drew his sword, and vowed to sacrifice his life for the preservation of that invaluable liberty of which they deigned to confide to him the defence.

" At the same moment, every voice again proclaimed, M. Bailly *provost of the merchants.*

" One voice was heard to exclaim; '*No, not provost of the merchants, but mayor of Paris.*'

" And by a general exclamation, all persons present repeated, '*Yes, mayor of Paris.*'

" M. Bailly bowed low to the assembly: when he at length attempted to speak, he was so completely overcome by his emotion, that no sentence could be distinctly heard, except that he was unworthy of so

great an honour, and incapable of bearing so heavy a burthen."

This double nomination by popular acclamation, which afterwards received the sanction of the king and national assembly, did not prevent the mayor and commander-in-chief from demanding a regular election in the sixty districts.

RELATION OF EVENTS

FROM THE 16TH JULY TO THE 5TH OCTOBER, 1789.*

II.

THE new and important functions that the public had entrusted to Bailly and Lafayette obliged these two deputies to remain in Paris. "The city of Paris required a mayor and a commander-in-chief," said the Duke de la Rochefoucauld to the king, when giving an account of the deputation, "and it has appointed MM. Bailly and Lafayette." The king was unaccustomed to such a mode of expression; but he gave, the next day, his consent to the nomination.

This first epoch of the revolution gave rise, night and day, to a series of actions and speeches, of which we scarcely find any indication in the reports of the electors, the memoirs of Bailly, and other authentic works. It was not without making some warm, and almost in all cases efficacious, addresses to the people, that their chiefs were enabled to keep in order a multitude brought up under the influence of the ancient institutions, incensed by its former degradation and the recent conspiracies formed against its emancipation, at a period, also, when all the springs of the police and administration were not only broken, but secretly employed to destroy

* Extract from a manuscript, entitled, *Collection of Speeches, &c.*

the new organization, which had not yet, we may add, been called into existence.

On the 16th, the regular formation of a national guard was deliberated upon at the Hotel de Ville.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORTS OF THE ELECTORS.

(July 16th.)

"M. DE LAFAYETTE suggested that it was extremely important to organize as speedily as possible, and to submit to fixed and regular laws, the Parisian militia; that that assemblage of armed citizens, if it remained without order or discipline, guided merely by the impression of the moment, would not only be exposed to lose, by tumultuous movements, the fruit of its exertions, but might even, without knowing it, contain within its own breast seeds of disorder and dissension.

"That it would be undoubtedly proper to incorporate in that military body those brave French guards, so well entitled, by their patriotic conduct, to the gratitude of the corporation, and who, dispersed at present in the districts of Paris, felt themselves the necessity of being governed by regular discipline.

"That, as all the corporations of the kingdom intend, doubtless, to follow the example of Paris, and confide their internal defence to a body of armed citizens, he wishes that the city of Paris should be the first to give the title suitable to citizen-troops armed for the defence of the national constitution.

"That the proper title appears to him that of *national guard*, adding to it the name of each town to which the guard be attached; for example, that of *National Guard of Paris*, for the Parisian guard.

"Finally, that the organization of that military body, which shall be named *National Guard of Paris*, only appears to him possible and legal when formed on a plan which shall have been examined and concerted by the deputies of all the districts and himself, presenting and uniting, at the Hotel de Ville, the general wish of the corporation.

"The assembly, after deliberating upon the proposal of M. de Lafayette, resolved that the military corps to which the guard and tranquillity of the town are entrusted, should be named, in future, *National Guard of Paris;* and that each district shall be immediately requested to depute to the Hotel de Ville a person charged with conferring with M. de Lafayette upon the means proper to be pursued for establishing and regulating that military and civil guard."

It is inserted in the reports of the electors, July 16th, that Bailly saved the life of a woman whom the populace were on the point of killing; Lafayette that of an abbé, Cordier,* whom they were going to hang, and that of Soulès, the provisional commander of the Bastille, whom they had seized upon during the first days, besides more than twenty other persons, amongst whom we may name two officers of the division of General Falkenheim, M. de Boisgelin, who had been president of the nobility at the States of Britanny, where he had pronounced the well-known oath against the cause of the revolution, M. de Lambert, arrested at the gates of Paris, whilst endeavouring to force through them, General Turkeim, the beautiful Madame de Fontenay, now Princess de Chimay, who has since, herself, saved so many lives, &c., had been snatched by Lafayette from the popular fury, before his efforts proved unavailing in the unfortunate catastrophe of Foulon and Berthier.†

* Filial affection will doubtless be excused for publishing the following anecdote:—A valued friend, to whom the education of the youthful son of General Lafayette had been confided, was bringing him to the Hotel de Ville at the very moment his father was endeavouring to save the Abbé Cordier from an armed and infuriated multitude. General Lafayette, taking advantage of this unexpected visit, "*Gentlemen*," said he, turning to the crowd, "*I have the honour of presenting to you my son.*" A moment ensued of general surprise and pleasure, during which time the general's friends, who were standing with him on the steps of the Hotel de Ville, succeeded in rescuing the Abbé Cordier, and placed him in safety in the interior of the edifice.

† The aides-de-camp of Lafayette might repeat many similar occurrences. We will insert another:—On his road through Leipsic, when he was conveyed from Olmütz to Hamburg, a foreigner of distinction, who was employed by the Austrian government in the low countries, but whom Lafayette did not recollect, came to thank him for having saved his life, the 16th or 17th of July, 1789.—(Note of Lafayette.)

We see in the same report of the 16th, that "the order for the demolition of the Bastille, in virtue of a deliberation of a permanent committee of the Hotel de Ville, was immediately proclaimed by the trumpeters of the town, in the court of the hotel and in all the public places of Paris, in the name of M. de Lafayette; that at that same time the deputies of the different military corps existing in the capital, presented themselves to make an oath to the nation, which was received by their commander-in-chief."

The following day, (July 17th) the king arrived, without any guards, from Versailles to Paris. Bailly received him with a speech filled with expressions of affection, which contained that celebrated antithesis, "These are the same keys that were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people; it is now the people who have reconquered their king." Speeches were also made to him by MM. de Lavigne and Moreau de Saint Méry, by the king's attorney of the town, Ethis de Corny, and by M. de Lally Tollendal, whose speech is generally known.

What a glorious moment it must have been for Lafayette, when, at the head of all the armed citizens of the sixty districts, he received Louis XVI., after having addressed to him, on the road, some respectful words, which were calculated to re-assure him! He and all his staff were in a plain dress, without any other military distinctions than those of a sword and cockade.* He made no speech.

* M. de Lafayette was on horseback, with a sword in his hand, at the head of two hundred thousand men, all variously armed; of the French guards, whose ancient officers he had replaced by their serjeants; of all the soldiers who had ranged themselves under the banner of insurrection; and of all the

When the king had received, at the Hotel de Ville, from the mayor, the cockade of the revolution, which was only, at that time, of two colours, he was conducted by the commander-in-chief to the picket of the *gardes-du-corps*, which had remained outside the gates of the city.

At the end of the deliberation of the assembly of electors of the 16th, a project of organization was fixed upon by Lafayette, in concert with the military committee, the staff of the provisional guard, and General Mathieu Dumas, reporter. It was from his proposal that, after the new colours had been adopted by the king, the Hotel de Ville added to them the ancient white colour.*

In this manner was formed the tricoloured cockade, which had become the national one. Lafayette, when presenting to the Hotel de Ville the

citizens who had been able to procure any species of arms. Monks of different orders were seen amongst them. Behind the lines of armed citizens, old men, women, and children, were thickly crowded together; not only the windows of all the houses, but even their roofs, were thronged with spectators. So great was the subordination and good order, that a sign from the commander-in-chief was sufficient to cause, without confusion, the execution of the most important manœuvres. M. de Lafayette only entered the Hotel de Ville to accompany the king at his departure, and secure his free passage. It was then that his Majesty, having reached his carriage without any obstacle, said, "*M. de Lafayette, I was looking for you to tell you that I confirm your appointment to the place of Commander-in-chief of the Parisian Guard.*"—(*History of the First Electors of Paris, by Ch. Duveyrier, secretary of their assembly.*)

* The cockade was at first red and blue: these were not only the colours of the town, but, by a singular accident, those of the livery of Orleans. Lafayette, struck by this circumstance, and wishing to nationalize the ancient French colour by uniting it with the colours of the revolution, proposed to the Hotel de Ville the tricoloured cockade, which was adopted.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

project of organizing with that cockade a national uniform, pronounced these words:

"I bring you a cockade that will traverse the whole world, and an institution, both civil and military, that must triumph over the ancient tactics of Europe, and will reduce arbitrary governments to the alternative of being beaten if they do not imitate it, and overthrown if they venture to irritate it."

The events that occurred during the war of the revolution, the appeal of various sovereigns to national militias, and the mortal blow given to despotism by the introduction of the representative system in Europe, appear to have justified this prediction.

National guards were instituted in the above-mentioned manner. The revolution of the 14th of July had given to the capital a degree of supremacy over the other towns and cantons of the kingdom, who all hastened to follow its example and apply for its counsels. The same occurred with the armed forces of all France. This circumstance, and the peculiar confidence that was placed in Lafayette, gave him an important part in the creation of the national guard, and although he refused the special commands that were then offered him on all sides, and afterwards, in 1790, the general command that the army of France proposed to him, he did not less unite to the honour derived from the institution a degree of private influence, which rendered it equally a right and duty for him to demand, incessantly, the organization of that powerful and essential guarantee of national independence, and which lessens, very much, the merit that has been ascribed to his refusal of a greater power.

The movement of the 14th of July had extended itself like an electric shock: in a few days, all France was in a state of agitation. Paris, at that period, was obliged to exert herself to moderate the influence granted her, and direct it towards the general good. Lafayette only accepted the authority that it was impossible for him to refuse, and employed the vast influence he possessed to form national guards in the whole of France, when, in every place, the armed force of Paris was taken for a model, and the opinion of its chief for a rule.

It was a great happiness in the midst of the popular effervescence, when ancient institutions were destroyed, and no other barrier had yet been formed; it was, I say, a great happiness, that such unbounded confidence was placed in men who, like Bailly, Lafayette, the electors, the representatives of the corporation and of the national guard of Paris, constantly viewed with horror acts of violence, to which they even opposed all their influence and power. Their objection to every species of disorder was so great, that the national guard and its chief were not more known during those first three years for their devotion to the cause of liberty, than for their zeal in combating anarchy, in protecting persons and property without regard to party, and in maintaining legal order. This first impulse has been restored whenever circumstances, the spirit of faction, or the calculations of despotism, have yielded to the necessity of re-establishing national guards.

Contemporaries recollect, with pleasure, that fine organization of the first Parisian national guard, those six superb divisions composed of sixty battalions of six volunteer and one mercenary company. The ancient grenadiers of the guard, the

chasseurs of the barrier, an artillery of an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and a *gendarmerie* on horseback completed that organization from whence have sprung so many distinguished officers and generals. The large and smaller towns, and the country places, modelled themselves, more or less, upon this institution. Strasbourg, Lyons, Bordeaux, Metz, Rennes, Rouen, Marseilles, &c., vied with each other in the production of citizen-troops, equally admirable for their deportment, spirit, and proper feeling. Private federations united together their various bodies; but it was the 14th of July, 1790, a year after the memorable Parisian insurrection and the taking of the Bastille, that a general federation united, in a more intimate manner, all the members of that vast body.

We have said that Lafayette, named unanimously on the morning of the 15th, and by acclamation on the evening of the same day, accepted, on the 16th, by the applauses of the constituent assembly, and on the 17th, by the consent of the king, pronounced at the Hotel de Ville, would not less submit that nomination to the decision of the universality of the citizens of Paris. This was the aim of the circular of the 18th of July, addressed to the sixty districts, which we shall now transcribe:

"No expressions can paint to you my gratitude and devotion, but I entreat you to receive the homage of a heart deeply impressed with a sense of your goodness, and whose happiness and glory will consist in proving to you how completely, whilst I live, I shall be devoted to your service.

"But valuable as are to me the proofs of your confidence, I must beg to observe that the general of the Parisian militia has been named by acclamations, very flattering, doubtless, but which do not bear the legal character of the will of the citizens, from whence all power should emanate. The circumstances

were at that moment so extremely pressing, that no time was left for calm reflection. I desire now, gentlemen, that my fellow-citizens should regularly select a chief, and whilst I reserve for myself, in all cases, the honour of serving them as the most faithful of their soldiers, it is only provisionally that I can exercise the functions which have been granted me."

"Those functions are doubly dear to me, gentlemen, when I express to you my admiration of the good order that reigned yesterday, and which is far more owing to your zeal than to any arrangements I was able to make."

The result was a regular and not less unanimous nomination, by universal suffrage, of the mayor and commander-in-chief.

An essential part of the organization of the national guard of Paris was to incorporate in each battalion a centre company, which had belonged to the former guard of the town. The French guards were of course enrolled. Paris was filled with soldiers of various regiments, summoned from the frontiers, from very opposite intentions, and of a large number of Swiss guards, of which companies of chasseurs of the barriers were formed. Although Lafayette had declared "that the real deserters were those who had not joined the banner of the nation," it was necessary to regulate precisely the situation of all these soldiers. We find, in the reports and papers of the time, a letter upon that subject from the king to General Lafayette.

"Versailles, 21st of July.—I am informed, sir, that a large number of soldiers from several of my regiments have quitted their banners to join the troops of Paris. I authorize you to retain all those who have taken this step before your reception of the present letter, unless they should prefer returning to their respective corps, with a note from yourself, in which case they will not be exposed to any unpleasant circumstances.

"As to the French guards, I authorize them to enter into the citizen militias of my capital, and the loan and food granted them shall be continued until my town of Paris shall have made arrangements relating to their subsistence. The four companies that are here for my guard shall continue their service, and I will myself take care of them.

(Signed) Louis."

To secure the fate of those soldiers who wished to return to their regiments, a royal order was issued the 14th of August, that confirmed the permissions granted by this letter.

But these were not the sole difficulties he encountered. Efforts were made to mislead the French guards. A deputation came one day to apprize the commander-in-chief that unlimited leave of absence had been delivered to them by their lieutenant-colonel, M. Malliardos. Lafayette gave them a rendezvous at that officer's house; he found the court filled with soldiers, and delivered a speech, which produced so much effect that not one of them took advantage of the consent that, at the close of his speech, he gave for their departure.

Another time, when he was passing on horseback near the district of the *Cordeliers*, he was requested to repair thither. The assembly was numerous; the hall was partly filled by French guards. After the usual acclamations, the well-known Danton, president and orator of the day, informed Lafayette that, to recompense the patriotism of the brave French guards, the district had decided to demand that the regiments should be re-established in their former state, and that their command should be given to the first prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans. "No doubt is entertained," he added, "of the consent of the general-in-chief to such a

patriotic proposal." The speech was accompanied by complimentary phrases from the president and acclamations from the assembly.

Lafayette found himself taken in a snare; but he succeeded gradually in dissuading the citizens and French guards themselves from such a project. The conspiracy, of which the roots were in a different quarter, was completely overthrown.

(July 22d.) During the first days that followed the insurrection of the 14th, Paris was in a most alarming state. The vast population of the town and surrounding villages, armed with every sort of weapon they could meet with, had been joined by six thousand soldiers, who quitted the banners of the royalist army to join the cause of the revolution. In addition to this, four or five hundred Swiss guards, and six battalions of French guards, were without officers; the capital purposely deprived of provisions or means of obtaining them; every species of authority, all the resources of the former government destroyed, obnoxious, and incompatible with liberty; the tribunals, magistrates, and agents of the former institutions, generally suspected, and ill disposed towards the existing state of affairs; the tools of the ancient police interested in confounding all things, to re-establish despotism and their former places; the aristocrats exciting disorders to revenge their grievances and render themselves necessary; the Orleanists, on their side, devoted to the projects of their chief; these various parties setting in motion, according to their own will, more than thirty thousand foreigners or unknown persons; and to direct those opposing and tumultuous elements, to animate and restrain at the same time that nation whom despotism had laboured to corrupt. There was neither military nor civil

organization; there were neither national laws, nor judicial forms appointed for the law proceedings.

Public order was only defended by an armed and deliberating multitude, in each of the sixty districts, at the Hotel de Ville, by electors, who, without any right but that of their patriotism, had fortunately seized the reins of administration, and by the chiefs of the moment, who, charged with watching over all things, were beloved and respected; but whose faces were unknown to a vast majority, who only obeyed them from confidence and impulse.

In spite of the great difficulties Lafayette encountered, we have seen that by his speeches or private efforts he succeeded in saving many lives.

The same good fortune did not attend him during the fearful and deplorable day of the 22nd of July.

In his absence, the ex-minister Foulon had been carried to the Hotel de Ville. We are far from justifying the odious imputations that were cast upon him; but no proof of their truth was unfortunately necessary to place him in the most imminent danger. He was detested by the people; he was accused of having committed misdemeanors during the war of seven years, in which he had been intendant of M. de Broglie, of having given proofs of great severity of temper, and of having uttered these very improbable words, "that the people would be too happy if hay were given them to eat." He was named as one of the candidates for the ministry of finance, and his promotion to that employment was more dreaded, because it was generally believed that his plan of administration was founded upon a public bankruptcy. It was under these fearful impressions that he had been appointed member of that ephemeral ministry, whose destiny

was to destroy the assembly, and bring calamity upon the capital.

We see in the *report of the electors* how great were the efforts of Lafayette to save that unfortunate man from the inexpressible rage of the multitude, whose dense masses were constantly renewing, and whom it was necessary to endeavour to persuade, since no power was yet organized for restraining them.*

"No means remained of arresting the impatient and frantic rage of the multitude, when redoubled cries announced M. de Lafayette.

"Place was made for him; he entered without difficulty, and stationed himself by the side of M. Moreau de Saint Méry, president of the assembly. At his entrance, the most profound silence succeeded to the late tumult.

'I am known to all of you,' said he; 'you have named me your general, and that choice which is so honourable to me, imposes upon me the duty of speaking to you with that freedom and frankness which form the basis of my character. You wish to execute, without a trial, the man now placed before you; this act of injustice would dishonour you, disgrace me, and dis-

* It might be supposed, from Bailly's Journal, that some mistake had arisen in the morning, in relation to the guard of the Hotel de Ville; the details of this are no longer sufficiently present to my memory for me to rectify this error, which was but too unimportant, as was ascertained that same evening. The fact is, that, during those first days, in the midst of a multitude in a state of confusion, when nothing was yet established, when no persons knew each other, when feelings of excitement or distrust were universal, no means of expression remained except those offered by personal ascendancy,—no other influence than that which each individual dared, or was able, to assume; and as the career was open to all men, those who prevented much evil, and did a little good, should be judged of with less severity. —(Note of General Lafayette.)

grace all the efforts I have made in favour of liberty, if I were weak enough to permit it: I will not permit this act of injustice. But I am far from pretending to save him, if he be really guilty; I only wish that the decision of the assembly should be accomplished, and that this man should be conducted to prison, to be judged by the tribunal whom the nation may appoint. I wish that the law should be respected,—the law, without which no liberty can exist,—the law, without whose assistance I could not have contributed to the revolution of the new world, and without which I cannot contribute to the revolution which is now preparing.

'What I am now saying in favour of forms and law, must not be interpreted in favour of M. Foulon. I cannot be suspected of partiality towards him, and the manner in which I have expressed myself respecting him, on several occasions, would alone perhaps suffice from incapacitating me from the right of judging him. But the greater the probability of his guilt, the more important it is that formalities should be observed towards him, either to render his punishment more signal, or to interrogate him legally, and obtain from his own mouth revelations of his accomplices.

'I shall therefore order that he be conducted to the prison of the Abbaye Saint Germain.'*

* The relation given by M. de Montlosier of the assassination of Foulon and Berthier, in his Memoirs upon the French revolution, (vol. i. p. 226,) is very inaccurate. This author was, at that period, in the mountains of Auvergne. We perceive by the accounts he then received how very much facts were disfigured by party spirit.

M. de Montlosier reports (p. 226) a pretended speech of Bailly, in relation to Foulon. Bailly had not yet arrived at the Hotel de Ville. We see, in his own memoirs, that he was absent; that he was sent for, but could not be found: that he only arrived and only learnt at five o'clock in the evening that dreadful event.

If we compare the speech imputed to General Lafayette on this lamentable occasion, with the real words consigned in the official report of the electors, and the journal of Bailly, we shall perceive the wide difference that exists between them. The speech quoted by M. de Montlosier is extracted from a paper, entitled, *The Friend of the King*, and begins thus: "*I cannot blame your anger against this man; I have always consi-*

"This speech of M. de Lafayette produced great effect, especially upon all those in that vast hall who could hear distinctly every syllable he uttered. Those who surrounded him were of opinion that Foulon ought to be conducted to prison, and two men, who had been given as guards to M. Foulon, stood up on a bench and declared that he ought to be instantly carried to prison; but at the other extremity of the hall, the minds of the public were not so well disposed. Some infuriated voices cried out, '*down, down!*' and the two men were obliged to descend and remain silent.

"M. Foulon himself attempted to speak. A short silence ensued; but these words only could be distinguished:—'*Respectable assembly—just and generous people—at all events, I am in the midst of my fellow-citizens—I fear nothing.*' These words produced, perhaps, a totally different effect from what might have been expected. The effervescence was renewed; clamour was heard from the square of the Hotel de Ville; some persons of a decent appearance, mingling with the crowd, even in the hall itself, excited them to acts of violence. One well-dressed individual, addressing the bench, ex-

dered him as a great scoundrel, and there is no torture too severe for him."

"As for Berthier," says M. de Montlosier, "*when he arrived two days after*, the same eloquence and efforts were employed for him." Berthier arrived that same day; he was massacred that evening. Those dreadful scenes have been very hastily and inaccurately reported by M. de Montlosier.—(Note of General Lafayette.) See above the letter of the month of August, 1786, of this volume; the appeals of M. de Lafayette at the assembly of notables to obtain the reform of criminal jurisprudence, and, later, his motions of the month of September, 1789, to obtain a decree of the national assembly in favour of judicial guarantees.

claimed, with vehemence, '*What need is there for a judgment against a man who was judged thirty years ago?*'

"Three different times did M. de Lafayette address the people; he produced each time a favourable effect, and it is impossible to know what might have been the result, when still more furious cries were heard from from the square of the Hotel de Ville. Several voices from the farther end of the hall announced that the inhabitants of the Palais Royal and the faubourg Saint Antoine were coming to carry off the prisoner. The staircase, and all the passages of the Hotel de Ville re-echoed with the most horrible cries. A fresh crowd came to press upon the one that already filled the great hall; all were at the same moment in motion; all rushed impetuously towards the bench and table that supported the chair upon which M. Foulon was seated: the chair shook, and was thrown down, whilst M. de Lafayette exclaimed, in a loud voice, '*Let him be carried to prison.*'"

To this statement, which is perfectly correct, we must add that Lafayette, after having in vain endeavoured to appease the multitude, had obtained at length some tumultuous applauses, when Foulon unfortunately joined, himself, in the applause. A voice cried out, "*See, they understand each other!*" At these words, Foulon, torn from the electors, who surrounded him and endeavoured to save him, was dragged to the Grève, and massacred without Lafayette's possessing the physical possibility, I do not say of protecting him, but even of making himself heard.*

* Toulongeon denounces the strange supposition of an historian, M. Bertrand de Moleville, who admits that the members of the assembly organized those murders, and that, amongst others, La Rochefoucauld consented to them and approved of

On that same day, the son-in-law of Foulon, Berthier, intendant of Paris, a man devoted to the court, but whom the conviction of his danger, rather than a consciousness of misdemeanors, induced to take to flight, was brought back to Paris. All that the mayor and electors could do in his favour, when first informed of this event, was to send an escort to meet the prisoner, to save him from the fury of the populace, during his translation from Compiègne, where he had been arrested, to Paris.

This object was accomplished in an intelligent, a firm, and above all, a successful manner, by a troop of volunteers, to whom Lafayette had given d'Hermigny, as commander. The mayor and electors received Berthier at the Hotel de Ville. The recent example of Foulon had taught them that they must not depend upon the resource of arguing with the crowd. It was still less possible to depend upon the succour of public force, which had scarcely been called into existence. The national guard was not yet organized; there was not even any external sign by which the magistrates or other depositaries of legal authority could be recognised. Lafayette was in a plain dress, and so completely unknown to a large portion of the multitude, that when his efforts in favour of the two victims who perished on that day appeared likely to be attended with some success, some ill-intentioned persons declared, and convinced those they saw hesitating, that it was not Lafayette who was addressing them.

In this state of affairs, Bailly, who had just arrived, and the electors, ordered that Berthier

their plan and execution. No severer punishment for such an infamous calumny need be inflicted, than merely repeating, on every occasion, the name of the man accused and of the accuser.

should be taken to prison, defending this measure on the necessity of interrogating him in a judicial manner, to draw from him an avowal of his accomplices. This was not only the wisest, but the only feasible plan. To gain time was the essential thing. He was therefore placed under the guard of a few volunteers who could be assembled, and who were to conduct him to the *conciergerie*, whilst some others endeavoured to guard the streets he passed through, but nothing could prevent a man in the crowd from shooting him with a pistol.

Other crimes were also committed. In August, 1789, a brave officer of the seneschal's jurisdiction, Durocher, was shot dead at Chaillot; in the month of October of the same year, a baker was hung in a tumult; we must add, however, that in both these cases the culprits were seized and condemned to death. Two robbers, detected in the act of stealing, were killed in May, 1790, before it was possible to rescue them. Two men were assassinated the 17th of July, 1791, in the Champ-de-Mars; their heads were placed on spikes; but that crime occasioned the proclamation of martial law, which was put in execution the same day. This, with the murders of Foulon and Berthier, is a list of the popular assassinations that took place in the precincts of the capital during the space of Lafayette's command, which escaped his vigilance, and deeply grieved his heart.

How many tumults, some arrested by persuasion, others compressed by armed force,—how many scenes of disorder, indecency, and corruption of patriotism and morality, have been opposed to the devotion of the magistrates, of the people, and of the national guard, by that army of perturbators that every capital contains, that are brought forward by a great revolution, and whose factious spirit em-

ployed tactics, as wearisome to the soldiers of legal order as they were painful to the real friends of liberty!

Lafayette never hesitated, at any period, to declare his firm and deep conviction of the great part that the enemies of the revolution had in these anarchial disorders, who were desirous to make use of the expression of Mr. Pitt, that the *French should wade through liberty*, and be brought back by licence to their former institutions. "*It is not for the Champ de Mars that I perish*," said Bailly, "*but for the oath of the Jeu de Paume.*"

The indignation and grief of Lafayette having induced him to give, the day after the 22nd of July, his dismissal, we shall see whether the stormy vortex in which he dwelt prevented his attaching to the events of that deplorable day all the importance they deserved; whether, by recalling his dismissal, he yielded to slight entreaties, and whether he could have directed more advantageously for the re-establishment of order and justice, the feelings entertained towards himself personally.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE ELECTORS.

(July 23rd.)

"M. MOREAU DE SAINT MÉRY, president, announced to the assembly that M. de Lafayette, deeply grieved by the horrible scenes that had passed the day before, wished to abandon the military command, and that he had sent the following letter to M. Bailly and the sixty districts:—

'SIR,—Called by the confidence of the citizens to the military command of the capital, I have never ceased declaring, under present circumstances, that confidence, to be useful, must be entire and universal. I have never ceased telling the people

that, although I should always be devoted to their real interest, I should be incapable of purchasing their favour by a single act of unjust complacency.

'The people have not followed my advice, and the day in which they failed in the confidence they promised me, I must, as I said beforehand, desert a post in which I can no longer be useful to them.* I remain, with respect, &c.'

"The assembly, alarmed and struck by consternation, was governed by a simultaneous feeling. All the members rose together, and, with M. Moreau de Saint Méry, the president, at their head, they crowded towards the bench of subsistences, where M. de Lafayette was still seated by the side of M. Bailly.

"They all surrounded him, and eagerly repeated to him the same thing, that the safety of the town depended on the preservation of its general.

"M. de Lafayette replied that public utility itself appeared to require his retirement; that the bloody and illegal executions of the day before, and the impossibility in which he had found himself of preventing them, had but too well convinced him that he was not the object of universal confidence."

But it would be superfluous to transcribe here the reports of all the occurrences of that day, in which Lafayette was honoured by so many proofs of affection and esteem, of which the expressions and details cannot with propriety be related by himself. He long persisted in a refusal occasioned by the failure of his efforts to oppose the crimes of the day before, and when he at length yielded to the gentle force employed by the electors and de-

* The letter to the districts, written in the same spirit, entreated them not to delay restoring Lafayette to himself, by turning their attention immediately towards making choice of a new commander.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

putations of the districts, with the venerable curate of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont at their head, it was only after the most solemn engagements had been taken to maintain justice and public order, in the following declaration, signed by all the electors and deputies of the present districts, printed and advertised as the expression of the unanimous wishes and declarations of all the citizens of the capital:—

"We, the electors and deputies of the districts of the town of Paris, conformably to the unanimous wish and declaration of all the citizens of the capital, and in consequence of our entire confidence in the virtues, talents, and patriotism of M. de Lafayette, have again proclaimed him general of the national guard of Paris, promising, in our name, as well as in that of our brothers in arms, in our districts, and in the other military corporations, subordination and obedience to all his orders, that his zeal, seconded by all patriotic citizens, may bring to perfection the great work of public liberty."

The popularity of Lafayette was so great that decisions of every kind were referred to him, and to put a stop to this, he addressed himself in the following manner, on the 29th of July, to the presidents of the districts of Paris:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I hope that the civil and military organization of the capital will soon mark limits to the different powers in which you may think proper to confide: but as it appears that the organization of the municipality is not so far advanced as our own, and that that body will be especially authorized to trace those various limits; permit me to solicit your aid, that, until that desirable object be attained, our fellow-citizens may be induced to reflect seriously upon the danger of confounding different functions. It is to the mayor of the town of Paris, it is to your representatives, gentlemen, that every petition must be made: it is from them that every decision must emanate. To watch over the safety of the capital, preserve order amongst a band of armed citizens, execute the decrees of your representatives, live to obey you, and die, if necessary, to defend you: such are the sole functions, the sole rights of him, whom you have deigned to name commander-in-chief."

Whilst the military organization was forming, the districts of Paris, on the demand of the mayor, and the wish of the electors themselves, named, in place of that admirable assembly, two representatives in each district, who took the title of assembly of the representatives of the corporation of Paris.

Saturday (July 25th).—One hundred and twenty deputies, named by the corporations of the sixty districts of the town of Paris, assembled at the Hotel de Ville, in the governor's hall. They again proclaimed, in consequence of the wish manifested in the deliberations of all the districts, M. Bailly, mayor of the town, and M. de Lafayette, commander of the national guard of Paris.

"The members of that assembly," says Bailly, in his Journal, "were deputies named and chosen to form, conjointly with the mayor and M. de Lafayette, a plan of municipal administration, which shall be at first but provisionally established, and submitted to the examination and ratification of the districts.

"The assembly formed, I renewed to its deputies, the first who in reality represented the corporation of Paris, thanks for my nomination.

"M. de Lafayette afterwards returned the same thanks that I had done: he again repeated the reasons that had induced him to give his dismissal, and the expressions of confidence and affection that led him to resume his command. He then took an oath that he would fulfil with fidelity the functions of commander-in-chief, confine himself to the limits which should be marked out for that place, and *never forget that military power is subservient to civil power.* He never forgot, himself, the expressions which are agreeable to an assembly, and they must,

in justice, acknowledge, that he has always put that principle in practice.

"The members of the assembly, as deputies of their districts, instantly swore that they would submit to his commands, dictated by the love of public order, and emanating from the just authority with which the corporation should judge proper to invest him. They forgot that they were in the presence of the civil power, to which, a moment before, all military power had been declared subservient, they forgot that they ought only to make such an oath to themselves, to the assembly, to the mayor, their chief, and to the law that governs all things.

"I immediately afterwards told the assembly there was a third oath to make to M. de Lafayette and me,—that of always loving us; and we embraced each other, to the great satisfaction of the assembly, who felt how conducive the union of their two chiefs must prove to the public welfare."

The public agitation continually excited, and various and opposing factions, could not, after so violent a storm, be easily allayed. All France had risen simultaneously. The false alarm of brigands, which flew from mouth to mouth with the rapidity of lightning, hastened, undoubtedly, the national movement, in the same manner as the report of the entrance of the hussars within the gates of Paris had precipitated the internal movements of the capital. But too much importance has been attached to that revolutionary measure, of which the terror it excited was chiefly owing to circumstances, the general fermentation of mind, and the knowledge of greater existing evils.

It suffices to compare dates to perceive that, long before that false and contagious report of the ap-

proach from each point of France of a troop of brigands, two hundred thousand armed Parisians filled the streets of Paris. The Hotel de Ville was crowded with deputations from the towns and villages of every part of France, announcing the taking of arms, and demanding orders from the chiefs of the capital, who gave them under the modest form of fraternal instructions. But, although conscious that the wonderful is readily believed, and without wishing, like our modern historians, to attribute great events to I know not what necessity, quite independent of human will, and not unlike the Mussulman's fatality, we will merely observe that, generally speaking, people have preferred, from various motives, exaggerating the story of the brigands, to acknowledging, simply, in the French nation an electric shock of generous feeling, of which the assembly, the capital, and its chiefs, had given openly the example.

Whatever may have been the cause, the chiefs, whilst labouring with all their power to establish legal order, were continually thwarted, not only by the stormy elements that had been so lately set in motion, but by the factitious fermentation that furious aristocracy, disappointed factions, and budding ambitions, exerted themselves to excite by intrigues and the distribution of money. A credulous population, still in a state of agitation, and completely given up to the political impulse of the moment, were by these means misled. We shall not endeavour to discover here by what accident the agents of the ancient police, the aristocrats of the past day, were suddenly transformed into turbulent patriots. From what cause, for example, the famous Marat, (who might be called, in truth, half insane,) physician to the stables of the Count d'Artois, who had gone to London two months

before the revolution, raging against democracy, returned to Paris, one month after the 14th of July, the editor of a furious paper, in which, at first, Bailly and Lafayette alone were nominally attached.

Every day at the Hotel de Ville information was brought of the intrigues of various factions, differing widely from each other, and people listening with an appearance of interest, amidst the groups, to the cries or insinuations of those factions, were often much astonished at finding that a six franc piece had been slipped into their pockets.

During the scarcity of flour that alarmed Paris and grieved its magistrates, notes were several times shewn to Lafayette, in which his own signature had been perfectly well imitated, forbidding any millers from grinding flour for the capital.

At one time a crowd of persons, assembled in the faubourg Saint Antoine, had been persuaded to burn the pickets and military stores placed in that faubourg, "to prevent," as was said, "their being made use of by a new assemblage of royalist troops." Lafayette succeeded in inspiring them with better thoughts, and each person carried back the effects he had seized. At another time, all the journeymen tailors had assembled on the grass before the Louvre. Those only were admitted who could prove, by the hollow of the right thumb, formed by the insertion of the needle, that they belonged to the fraternity. The real object of this tumult, of which they were the unconscious tools, was, to delay the equipment of the national guard, the support of order and union. A conciliating speech brought these poor men back to their labour.

Another time, several thousand workmen, employed on the terrace of Montmartre, tumultuously demanded means of subsistence. They were in

open revolt, and excited much alarm, Lafayette hastened to the spot, made them a severe address, and threatened to have the mutineers arrested: they returned to order, crying out, *Vive Lafayette!*

The account of a very ridiculous tumult is found in the memoirs of the excellent Dussaulx.* The departure of a boat filled with powder, generally called, *poudre de traite*, because that powder, of the worst quality only was employed in the infamous traffic of the blacks, occasioned some popular alarm: this increased when, on stopping that boat, it was perceived that the powder had been delivered, not on an order from Lafayette, but from a note that M. de La Salle, the second in command, had, during Lafayette's absence, most imprudently signed. The readers of the note fancied they saw, instead of poudre de *traite*, a word which conveyed no meaning to them, poudre de *traître*, (traitor,) and in consequence of this ingenious interpretation, an enraged multitude hastened to the Hotel de Ville to massacre the pretended *traitor*, whose conduct on the 14th of July had certainly deserved a better fate. La Salle was returning thither quietly in a hackney coach, when, having inquired the object of the present tumult, he hastily quitted the place de Grève, which, as well as the Hotel de Ville, was filled by a highly incensed populace. Lafayette began to make a long harangue in the great hall, while an aide-de-camp went to fetch some battalions, who evacuated the square by a manœuvre which Bailly has described, and which consisted in enlarging, gradually, a small square, beginning from the Hotel de Ville, so as to push gently out of la Grève the crowd that had taken possession of it. Then, as it was very

* The 6th of August.

late, he announced to his audience that he was going to bed, and advised them to do the same,—and when they looked out of the window, they thought this, in truth, the most rational advice. They muttered, as they went away, "While he was amusing us with his fine speeches, and they were pretending to look for La Salle, that he might justify himself, the traitor was, in all probability, hid behind his legs, under the cloth that covered the table." The next day, the accusation was only spoken of to acknowledge its complete injustice.

The 4th of August, Lafayette came to demand the justice of the corporation in regard to the French guards, who had rendered such important services. A sort of certificate was drawn up for each of them, expressive of the esteem and gratitude of the town of Paris, signed by the mayor and commander-in-chief. It was resolved that seals should be placed on the money-chests of the regiments, and that the amassed funds, and the produce of the sale of the magazines formed by the reserves on the pay, should be divided amongst the patriot soldiers, those who should enter into the national guard, as well as those who might wish to retire; they increased also the pay of those soldiers who, since the 14th of July, had been dispersed in the districts, of which one, said Bailly, that of Saint Eustache, had contracted for them a debt of fourteen thousand francs worth of wine and sausages.

These little attentions, some ices distributed at the Palais Royal, and other similar marks of kindness, were the only means employed by the promoters of the movement of the 14th of July. No money was given. Some persons have wished to convey the idea that much of that movement was owing to the discontent caused by acts of internal

discipline. Men appear reluctant to acknowledge the power of generous feelings.

At that same period, a medal of honour was awarded to the French guards, and constantly worn by the mayor and commander-in-chief. It was the latter, and not M. de Vauvilliers, as Bailly asserted, from a mistake, who, in a meeting at the Hotel de Ville, at which the mayor was not present, caused this line of Lucain to be adopted as a device :—

Ignorantne datos ne quisquam serviat enses?*
(*Pharsalia*, lib. iv.)

Bailly and Lafayette, engaged in Paris, could only take part by their sympathy and approval in the interesting meeting of the 4th of August ; but whilst they applauded the destruction of privileges, they endeavoured also to destroy prejudices. For example: they were obliged to employ all their eloquence to persuade some national guards to receive as officers several actors from a theatre, and a brother of two young men who had lately perished on the scaffold.

The respectable philanthropist, Clarkson, was himself agreeably surprised, as we see in his work upon the slave trade, to find, in 1790, at the general's table, two men of colour, wearing the uniform of officers of the national guard of Saint Domingo.

One day, at the public audience held by Lafayette, a solicitor was bringing forward his own titles of nobility. "Sir, they form no obstacle to your claim," was the reply that he received.

Efforts have since been made to distinguish the

* It was Lafayette, also, who, when instituting the national guard, placed on the pommel of their swords the first cap of liberty that had been seen in France.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

ancient nobility by persecutions, as it had once been distinguished by privileges. This is precisely what has maintained its moral existence until the period of its restoration.

The memoirs and papers of that time give an account of a portion of the daily tumults and disorderly movements, of which the principal scenes of action were the Palais Royal and the faubourgs, and which required, night and day, the intervention and harangues of the commander-in-chief. So great was the confidence placed in his power of preserving public order, that it would have been impossible for him to have gone out of Paris without exciting the alarm of persons of every political opinion.

The memoirs of Bailly shew how great were the fears and precautions, shared also by himself, which caused the necessity of his going to Versailles, accompanied by the municipality, and a superb detachment of the national guard, to carry, on the 25th of August, the day of Saint Louis, their respects to the king and royal family. The civil power was to perform the honours of the day, and the excellent mayor, Bailly, in the midst of his slight causes of displeasure against the corporation of Paris, often repeats that Lafayette never ceased to render homage to the principles, which he always, he added, so perfectly well understood. It was thus that Lafayette, remaining foreign to all dissensions, and endeavouring, on the contrary, to conciliate others, never for a moment ceased enjoying the affection and confidence of the corporation and its excellent chief. He only spoke, therefore, at Versailles, to refuse once more the command of the national guard of that town, which was offered him. But the Parisian detachment having requested to

present a bunch of flowers to the king, he conducted them beneath the balcony on which the king was standing, and so great was even then the anxiety of the court, that, on seeing that unarmed corps advance, many persons believed that a popular movement was taking place.

Bailly complains, with reason, that, at the beginning of September, the members of the assembly of the Hotel de Ville voted, for the commander-in-chief, a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand livres, and a first indemnification of a hundred thousand livres, while, the next day, they declared themselves incompetent to vote the appointments of the mayor, and merely decreed fifty thousand livres to him as an indemnification. He adds, that the refusal of Lafayette was verbally pronounced before it was consigned to writing.

We shall insert it here :—

"GENTLEMEN,—Permit me to offer you my respectful gratitude for the deputation you have deigned to send me, and to repeat here the observations that I requested it would submit to you.

"The salary of the commander-in-chief, of a hundred and twenty thousand livres, appears to me much too large, not only in itself, and in relation to existing circumstances, but also from the obligation it imposes respecting the salary of the mayor, whose superiority must, on all occasions, be marked by a superior style of reception.

"I shall observe, gentlemen, that, in this moment of agitation, the expenses of the commander-in-chief are difficult to regulate, and the delay that I now solicit, is in accordance with my private circumstances. If they required any pecuniary succour I should have freely asked for it, and I beg you to believe that I attach no more importance in refusing, than I should do in receiving, an emolument. But at a period when so many citizens are suffering from want, and when so many expenses are absolutely necessary, I feel reluctant to increase them needlessly. My fortune suffices for my manner of living, and my time would not suffice for receiving more company.

"After this explanation, gentlemen, I shall only express my wish that the hundred thousand livres, added this year to the fifty thousand crowns, may contribute to the relief of those persons who have suffered most for their country; and I conjure you to approve of my resolution of deferring to another period your proposal of fixing the salary of the commander-in-chief."

But the assembly continued to insist on his acceptation; and when, afterwards, those representatives, at the Hotel de Ville, required of all the public officers of the corporation a declaration of disinterestedness, by which some of them were much offended, Lafayette willingly agreed to their proposal, and replied to the speech of the president of the assembly:—

"Permit me, when affirming, on my honour, that I have received nothing, neither directly nor indirectly, from the corporation or executive power of Paris, to add that, during all the vexations I have experienced while fulfilling the functions of the eminent post to which the wishes of the nation have summoned me, the proofs of kindness with which you deigned to honour me have ever afforded me the sweetest consolation. I affect no feeling of false generosity when I persist in my refusal; I should not only be disposed to accept, but even to ask for, and solicit from, the people, to whom I have consecrated my fortune and my blood, an indemnification for my expenses, if my private fortune did not place me above all want:—that fortune was once a considerable one; it has proved sufficient for two revolutions, and if a third revolution were to arise, to promote the welfare of the nation, what remains in my possession would belong wholly to the people."

After this last refusal, neither his appointments nor indemnity were ever spoken of again.

REFORM OF THE CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE.

THERE was one point upon which the intervention of Lafayette was necessary and decisive: the reform of the criminal jurisprudence, of which he had already spoken at the first assembly of notables.

The present generation is so far removed from the ideas upon which the ancient criminal jurisprudence of France was founded, that it would scarcely be able to conceive the difficulties that Lafayette experienced in bringing forward an immediate reform; that is to say, in obtaining that accused persons should have a council, a communication of the documents of accusation, an advocate, a legal proceeding, and public audience, and be confronted with the witnesses before the moment when, the audit being closed, the charged witness, whom a scruple of conscience, a reminiscence, or the sight of the accused person had induced to change his deposition, was declared, by a special law, a false witness and condemned to the galleys. This barbarous mode of proceeding was defended by the most respectable magistrates; those above all whom their reputation of *great criminalists* had raised highest in public estimation; and those men who express to day their indignation at such cruel absurdities, still defend prejudices which will excite the indignation of their descendants.

The high value that Lafayette attached to the approbation of the virtuous and excellent Bailly, must not prevent our acknowledging that, while the latter shared fully all the principles of the commander-in-chief, he did not approve of his eagerness to put them into execution, as may be seen in his Journal of the 8th of September, 1789.

"M. de Lafayette has given an account to the assembly of the measures he had taken to organize some mercenary companies, and to mix with them the soldiers attached to the corporation. He took advantage of that opportunity to make to the assembly a proposal that I had several times rejected. He told me one day, that I ought to propose to the assembly to ask the national assembly to grant us the enjoyment of one of the greatest advantages we expected from the revolution, the reform of criminal jurisprudence,—such as, a counsel for the accused person, the publicity of the proceedings, &c. I replied that these points were, in truth, very important, but that I thought we ought to await patiently what the assembly would do in this respect, and not precipitate a change so momentous in a time of agitation. He returned to the subject repeatedly: I then explained my reasons more fully. But he brought forward the proposal to-day. The assembly adjourned the debate to that same afternoon. M. de Lafayette did not neglect pressing for their decision, and the proposal was finally carried in the evening. It was resolved to demand of the national assembly provisional forms, until definitive forms were granted, for all criminal proceedings.

"I can only approve of the intentions of M. de Lafayette: they were undoubtedly of the purest kind; but he entered into a subject which did not concern him. From not having sufficient knowledge and experience on the subject, he occasioned a great evil.

"The national assembly (the 9th of October) passed a provisional decree of twenty-eight articles, which instituted an assembly of notables, and regulated that the ancient proceedings, already put into execution, should continue to subsist, but that all

those made after the decree, should be accomplished with new formalities.

"It was necessary to elect the notables; it was necessary for the judges to learn their trade anew. During this time, that is to say, for two or three months, we were without justice. The prisons were overloaded; the longest formalities but slowly vacated them, and impunity appeared established in equal proportions with licence."

Lafayette experienced in the assembly of the corporation difficulties, which not only arose from the causes explained in the Journal of Bailly, but also from the question itself, the prejudices of the times, and the novelty of the formalities he proposed. We do not possess his speeches on this occasion. Some of them were published at the time, and dwelt especially on the reluctance the national guard and its chief felt in concurring in arrestations, of which the result was a secret and barbarous proceeding. His individual popularity had more influence over the members than the goodness of the cause; but it was resolved that the national assembly should be immediately entreated not to defer giving to accused persons the guarantees which became, on the 9th of October, the subject of a provisional decree.

When the national guards were completely organized, their new banners received a solemn benediction. The French guards, the knights of the arquebuse, the *bazoches* of the palace of justice, and of the *châtelet*, had given back their former ones, which had been no trifling affair. This sacrifice, which would have been difficult to obtain at all times, became still more so in consequence of the intrigues of the enemies of the revolution, who were incessantly taking advantage of the state of fickleness

and excitement of the public mind, to stir up the passions in the contrary direction to the one the chiefs of the capital conceived most conducive to public order. Thus, after having excited the companies of French guards, on service at Versailles, to quit suddenly their post, which project was only defeated by a positive order from Lafayette, and when afterwards these companies had been recalled to Paris, (in consequence of the secret request of the king,) endeavours were made to excite in them the desire of resuming those posts at Versailles, and this was one of the causes of the disorders of October. But all the old banners having been given up, the benediction of those belonging to the national guard was accomplished with much pomp, at the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, by the Archbishop of Paris. That ceremony, of which the details are found in the Memoirs of Bailly, and in the papers of the time, took place on the 24th of September, and preceded but a few days the movements of the beginning of October.

It was at that period, during the intervening days between the 24th of September and the 6th of October, that Lafayette received the visit of Montmorin, with whom he had been intimate ever since his journey through Spain. That minister, a personal friend of the king, experienced much anxiety on account of the Orleanist faction. To secure still more the interest of Lafayette, he spoke to him of becoming not only constable, but even lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Lafayette replied that such a situation would neither increase his credit in France, nor strengthen his determination to defend the king against the attempts of the Duke of Orleans, and he contented himself with advising the king, in case of any unforeseen conspiracy, to repair

immediately from Versailles to Paris, where the national guard would zealously watch over his safety.

He related this occurrence the same day to his wife and a few friends, and never spoke on the subject afterwards. His refusal was published for the first time in the Memoirs of Bouillé. Some time after, Mounier came also to Paris to converse with Lafayette, and spoke to him earnestly of becoming constable of France. Lafayette never lent himself to this new proposal, and made no alteration in his own political conduct.

LEGISLATIVE DISCUSSIONS

AND

REPORTS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THE MAYOR.

III.

Some heads of the constitutional party had formed themselves into committees, to plan the organization of the legislative body. Lafayette appointed to meet them at Mr. Jefferson's house. Mounier, Lally, and some others, wished for an English house of peers. Duport, Lameth, and Barnave, in accordance with the majority of the popular party, and inheriting the opinion of Turgot and Franklin, wished for one chamber only. Lafayette, guided by the experience he had acquired in America, inclined for two elective and temporary chambers. He said that if it were the means of uniting patriots, he should see with pleasure that they even went so far as to establish an elective senate for life; but he declared himself against the idea of an hereditary senate, as he had done before the general states, in his reply to M. Bergasse, when the latter sent him the work he published at that time upon the subject. M. Mounier, although a partisan of the chamber of peers, or of a senate for life appointed by the king, would have contented himself at that period with an elective senate, if the unity of the chamber had not found a great majority of votes amongst the patriots, enforced by a considerable portion of the aristocracy.

Lafayette, engaged night and day in maintaining the tranquillity of the capital, and organizing the national guard, two things upon which the safety of all France depended, could not take part in the debates of the assembly holding its sittings at Versailles. He would have voted for two elective chambers, but several of his intimate friends would have voted against him, so great was, at that time, the opposition which this subject occasioned. The one chamber was carried on the 10th of September.

The most decided aristocrats voted in favour of that measure, because they thought that such a state of things could not be of long duration, and their policy was to do all the evil possible.

As respects the *royal veto*, Mounier, Lally, Malouet, and Mirabeau, who was supported by the opinion of his friend Clavière, since a republican minister, saw no guarantee but in the *absolute veto*, whose partisans keenly reproached Lafayette with having employed his influence in favour of the *suspensory veto*, which possessed the double advantage of moderating the precipitation of the legislative body, and of making known, eventually, the public will. But, independently of the private and frankly expressed opinion of Lafayette, the general opinion was in favour of that combination which was finally adopted by a council of the king, and above all, by M. Necker, his principal minister.

The character and occupations of Bailly sufficiently explain why he did not belong to any of the committees held at the Hotel de La Rochefoucauld, where several deputies used to meet to discuss together their opinions, and mutually instruct each other respecting the questions that were on the order of the day,—discussions which were absolutely necessary to enable them to answer the aristocrats

and jacobins, who had also their committees previous to the debates of the assembly.

Bailly, at the time of his election as deputy, had taken no part in the French revolution, and the only political phrase quoted from him before that period, was one expressive of a disapproval of revolutions, which I do not at present recollect. He was fortunately president of the corporations during the important fortnight that brought on the oath of the *Jeu de Paume*, and the union of orders. His noble and patriotic conduct in those circumstances, occasioned his being elected mayor on the 15th of July. He had taken no other part in the grand insurrection of the French people than that of having presided over the assembly with propriety and dignity at an important epoch. He took no part whatever in the subsequent deliberations of the constituent assembly; he brought forward not one motion; he spoke upon no question; he was present at no committee; in a word, he had never been numbered amongst the promoters of the French revolution. After the 15th of July, he never made his appearance except at the bar of the assembly, and if he occasionally seated himself on the bench, it was only to listen to some particular orator, or to give his vote, without taking any active part in the debates.

Bailly, devoted to the duties of mayor of Paris, fulfilled them with the loyalty, integrity, and humanity, which have ever characterized this philosopher, equally admirable from the feelings of his heart as from the strength and cultivation of his mind. Lafayette was engaged in various affairs with the assembly and all France, in which the mayor of Paris took no part. But at every period, and in all circumstances relating to their respective

places as mayor and commander-in-chief, there ever reigned between them the greatest degree of intimacy, the most unlimited confidence and sincere friendship. The greatest efforts were made to disunite them, but they all proved in vain.

There was a certain degree of susceptibility in Bailly's disposition which his enemies represented as pride, but which arose chiefly from his wish of never yielding what was due, not to himself individually, but to his place. During the course of those three years, there did not pass a single moment in which the deference, the respect, of the commander-in-chief, did not even exceed what was expected from him, and this was owing both to the strong desire felt by Lafayette of proving his affectionate regard for Bailly, and to his wish of introducing in France the subordination of armed force to civil authority.

Bailly was, as well as himself, exposed to the hatred of the aristocracy, and to that of the various sects of anarchy. Although he, less decided in opinion than Lafayette, long retained his card at the Jacobins, that his name might not be effaced from the list, he was not less hostile to that club, and never made his appearance there. Endeavours were made to take advantage of the most trifling circumstances to separate him from his friend; and Lafayette and he often laughed together over those vain intrigues. The only subject on which Bailly did not share the opinion of Lafayette was respecting the party that has since been named Girondist.

Lafayette was intimate with Condorcet, who detested Bailly, and often warned Lafayette that his old friend had a very bad temper, and that sooner or later he would himself discover it. Brissot, at the time in which he spoke most favourably of La-

fayette, attacked Bailly with a violence which commenced from the first months of his magistracy, and nothing contributed more to irritate Brissot with Lafayette, than the reproaches he several times received from him, upon his denunciations without proof against men of the greatest integrity, and mainly against Bailly.

It may be remembered under what stormy circumstances, on the 11th of July, Lafayette thought that he ought to proclaim to the nation, or rather bequeath to it, a Declaration of Rights as he himself understood them. Towards the end of the month of July, when the triumph of the people had been secured, other projects of declaration were proposed by some members. Lafayette, being at the head of the national guard of Paris, could not be present to discuss the points of his own declaration at Versailles. It served, however, as the basis of the one adopted by the constituent assembly, who, in the course of the debates, made several alterations, and retrenched the last article on the principle of conventions, that is to say, on the distinction of constituent and constituted powers, and on the possible and legal means granted to a nation, that she may herself revise and correct, when requisite, the constitution.

The declaration of the rights of the constituent assembly became the subject of a controversy between the king and the assembly, until the epoch of the 5th of October, when, in consequence of the movements in Paris, the king resolved to accept it.

ON THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.*

IV.

The era of the American revolution, that may be considered as the commencement of a new social order for the whole world, may be properly called the era of the declaration of rights. That name cannot be given to those transactions extorted from power, in which despotism and the aristocracy of the nobility and priesthood appear the important ingredients of social order, and the rights of the people but form the concession or exception granted by a minority, the principal proprietors of power. The famous petition of rights, to which William III. yielded his consent in 1788, is an act of this nature. The name even of *petition* contrasted with that of *declaration*; the expression of privilege, customary in old England, ever contrasting with the constant appeal to the rights of the people, so important in the American language, suffice to mark the difference.

It was only after the commencement of the American era, that people thought of defining, independent of all pre-existing order, the rights that nature has accorded to every man,—rights so inherent in his existence, that all society united has not the right of depriving him of them, such as, for example, that of rendering to the Divinity the

* We think proper to place here the following considerations on the declaration of rights, that preceded for three days the creation of the national guard, that these two actions, so important in the life of General Lafayette, may be both equally explained by himself.

homage he conceives most pleasing to him. The declaration of rights must specify also those that belong essentially to society in general, and of which one member of that society, or a portion of its members, cannot be deprived even by the majority of the nation. These are peculiarly the undefinable rights of a man and a citizen.

The result of this is, therefore, that a constituent assembly, by proposing to a nation a constitutional act, and the people, by accepting it, have created a law, which must regulate all constituted bodies, of whatever nature they be, until it suits the people to change their constitutional act, and that the declaration of rights is the law of constituent bodies, as the constitutional act is the law of constituted authorities.

The American declaration of independence, of the 4th of July, 1776, is, above all, a manifesto, in the name of the thirteen colonies, to justify their separation from the mother country, and the establishment of their national and federative sovereignty. The principle of the sovereignty of the people, and their right of changing their government, are the sole axioms positively established. Many other rights, however, such as those of taxing oneself, of being judged by one's peers, &c., are clearly understood in the declaration of the violation of rights that justifies the separation of the colonies with the mother country. Congress had only at that time an aggregation of deputies of thirteen distinct sovereignties. Their decrees were only recommendations to the different states, although they were specially authorized to speak in their name and make stipulations with foreign powers, whether hostile or friendly.

But the constitutions that the thirteen states suc-

cessively gave themselves, were preceded by declarations of rights, of which the principles were to serve as rules to the representatives of the people, either at conventions, or during other exercises of their powers. Virginia was the first to produce a declaration of rights, properly so called. Jefferson had the principal share in framing it, and he had also drawn up the act of independence. Those declarations of rights are found at the head of the constitutions of the United States.

The federal constitution of the United States only appeared in 1789, when the constitution of each particular state had issued a declaration of rights; and although the federal tie has been drawn closer, the powers of the government of the union have been better defined than in the first years of the revolution, the principle has not less remained unshaken, that the sovereignty and right of legislation belonged to each of the particular states; and consequently, there was no reason to precede that federal organization, with a declaration of the rights of men and citizens.

The first declaration of rights, in the American sense of the word, which has been proclaimed in Europe, is the one that Lafayette proposed to the national assembly.

CORRESPONDENCE,

FROM THE 5TH MAY UNTIL THE 5TH OCTOBER, 1789.

Paris, Wednesday.*

BEFORE greeting you this morning I must present you with an allegorical box, whose design struck me on the great staircase, and which, until this moment, has been constitutional. We have passed judgment on some deputies, who have been dismissed, with reason, perhaps, but from different motives from those that might have governed the decision. We have named our conciliatory commissaries from lists, as M. de Vaudreuil said that his list had been made, by particular request, a week ago, but with the condition of a third of the votes, that forty-six members might not make a commissary, as one of those gentlemen, not less frank than M. de Vaudreuil, had the kindness to confess.† M. Desprémesnil promised a fulminatory motion against the expression of *commons* employed by the *tiers*. All this, as you perceive, is very conciliating. I went away in the middle of the deliberations, because our room was suffocating, and the mephitic atmosphere of prejudices ill agrees with my chest.

* The states-general assembled, Tuesday, May 5th. Each order remained in its own chamber, and that of the *tiers* borrowed from England the name of *commons*. This letter must have been written the 6th of May; it forms part of the extracts from various letters preserved by General Lafayette.

† The minority of the nobility was 47 against 188.

Friday.*

I BEG your pardon for the momentary impatience I testified yesterday; but your solicitude bears so much the appearance of blame, that I feel myself sometimes restrained when pouring out the expressions of confidence of an affectionate heart, and of a mind occupied, without much use, perhaps, but at least with sincerity and energy.

At nineteen, I devoted myself to the liberty of mankind and the destruction of despotism, as much as a powerless individual like myself could do so. I departed for the new world, opposed by all, and aided by none. I only attached value to some military talents as the means of attaining my aim; and both before and after my nation had followed the road I pointed out, I was so fortunate as to serve the cause I had embraced.

During my last voyage to America, I enjoyed the happiness of seeing that revolution completed, and, thinking of the one that would probably occur in France, I said, in a speech to congress, published everywhere except in the French Gazette, "May this revolution serve as a lesson to oppressors, and as an example to the oppressed!" The disorder of the finances and the assembly of notables, made me feel that the desired moment was approaching; you know that I was the first to establish the great principle of the nullity of taxes without consent of the parties taxed; of individual liberty; of the necessity of the general states. I again consecrated these principles in my provincial assembly, and I was the cause of all the agreements failing, because, not

* This letter was written about the time when M. Necker was endeavouring to arrest and limit the revolution by a royal concession, which became the declaration of 23rd of June.

being able to make use of the minister to advance the cause of liberty, I only thought of attacking the government. As I could not enter myself into parliament, I possessed some friends there, and joined all oppositions; I often made use of instruments which it will soon become necessary to break. I assayed all things except a civil war, which I could have brought on, but feared the horrors it might cause. I drew up a plan a year ago, whose simplest points then appeared the wildest absurdities, and in six months they will all be put in execution,—yes, without the slightest variation in a single word. I also made a declaration of rights, which Mr. Jefferson was so well-pleased with that he insisted on my sending it to General Washington, and that declaration, or something very like it, will be the catechism of France.

You must therefore feel that, as I have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, I must be delighted with everything that advances the revolution, and I count every obstacle that may prevent our attaining the point at which I think we ought to stop. My admiration, from being calm, is not less sincere, and M. Necker may not perhaps be insensible to its worth.

I wished to contribute to two other revolutions in Ireland and Holland: the prudence of our ministers alone prevented my taking advantage of the state of the public feeling.

It is to you alone that I could write what may appear like idle boastings,—not from believing that you will judge favourably of them, but from knowing that you will keep them secret. I solemnly assure you, that during the twelve years of my public life, if I have committed many faults, there

is not a single moment which I do not myself approve; and among the faults I have been guilty of, many may be imputed to the prudence of other men.

.....*

THERE is no old watch that may not be wound up for a longer period than M. Necker. He has allowed the whole council to meddle with his plan. He is no longer present at the meetings. He thinks he shall retire to-morrow,—that is to say, he does all the harm possible; both enough good and evil to embarrass everybody, and place the tiers in the wrong.†

Versailles, Thursday, ——, 1789.‡

I AM grieved by the anxieties of various kinds that torment you; I wish that you were, at least, at ease on my account; but the incalculable and unexpected

* These lines must have been written on the 22nd or 23rd of June, some hours before the king's speech at the assembly, and the reading of the declaration, which maintained the division of three chambers, the deliberation in order, and annulled the deliberations previously made by the deputies of the *tiers-état*.

† At the close of the royal meeting of 23rd of June, the queen, irritated by the reception made to M. Necker, in consequence of his previous absence, exclaimed, in her cabinet, in presence of several of her intimates, "We want troops! we want troops!" She wrote to the Prince de Condé, who agreed with her that troops were necessary. Orders were consequently given; the troops arrived, and hastened, by their presence, the downfal of royal authority.—(Note found in the papers of General Lafayette.)

‡ This letter is after the meeting of the nobility (25th June) and previous to the proposal of the declaration of rights (11th July.)

misfortune of having been chosen by the nobility, allows me only the choice of difficulties. There are many inconveniences, I know, attending my not going to Auvergne, not combating contrary opinions, and separating myself from the nobility of my province; but still greater ones would ensue, if I were to support this cause in opposition to my colleagues, and it appears to me more simple to give my resignation, than to go forth and lose a battle, and displease the whole national assembly, who do not approve of departures for the provinces. There are two other very powerful reasons; the first is, that the national assembly is threatened with perils which it behoves me to partake; the second is, that it will soon be engaged in drawing up a declaration of rights, in which I may be of use. I may perhaps set out for Riom the 17th, to be present, on the 20th, at the meeting of the *bailliage*, and should give, in that case, my resignation there. As to the idea of entering into the *tiers*, it is a natural one. When twelve hundred Frenchmen are labouring to form a constitution, the probability is, that I should desire to be, and become, one of them. A country, accustomed to the dark intrigues of a court, confounds, at first, the ambition of obtaining from the people the power of defending them, with those solicitations a man would blush to acknowledge and feels desirous of concealing, because they place him in a state of momentary dependence upon his fellow-creature, which must embarrass him. But at Riom, suffrages were asked for on the public place; in England, in America, they are asked for in the newspapers; and Frenchmen will soon become accustomed to the same mode of proceeding. I will not be illegally admitted,—I could not even be so,—but there would not be the slightest incon-

venience in a deputy saying,—"M. de Lafayette has given his resignation; I believe that he would be useful to the public cause, and I shall retire to leave place for him in a new election." All this is, however, very uncertain, and I shall have time enough to decide a fortnight hence. We shall probably be either driven away or have taken fast root ere that period, and I cannot rest satisfied with being the man of the seneschal's jurisdiction in Auvergne, after having contributed to the liberty of another hemisphere. Recollect that I cannot pause in my career without falling, and that with the best intention of remaining firm in my place, that place must be on the political breach.

Versailles, Saturday, July 11, 1789.

THE ministers believed yesterday that everything was lost. I am less surprised that M. de Saint Priest spoke to you of me with unkindness, from two of his friends having told me that for some days he has been much dissatisfied with our affairs. A grand committee has been held, at which the king's brothers, and the Marshal de Broglie, were present; the lists of proscription were spoken of, and the promotion did not forget me. The whole terminated by receiving, at nine o'clock in the evening, the deputation, and telling them, with great civility, &c.* It is said that the ball given to the soldiers of artillery did not contribute slightly to the mildness of the answer. Amongst the persons who bring themselves most forward in the revolution, there are

* See the king's reply to the address for sending away the troops. (10th July.)

some whose views extend farther than the establishment of a constitution. I am convinced that the Duke of Orleans, or at least the people who push him on, intend doing mischief. Some words have been repeated to me, and some advances made. I was told yesterday, that the head of the Duke of Orleans and my own were proscribed, that sinister projects were formed against me, as the only person capable of commanding an army; that the Duke of Orleans and I ought to take all measures in unison; that he should be my captain of guards, and that I should be his. I coldly replied that I only considered the Duke of Orleans as a private individual somewhat richer than myself, whose fate was not more important to the nation than that of any other members of the minority; that it was useless to form a party when we are with the whole nation; that it is necessary to do what is right, without vexing ourselves by consequences, and either build the edifice ourselves or bequeath materials to other men. But in the meantime I watch over the Duke of Orleans, and shall, perhaps, be obliged to denounce, at the same time, the Count d'Artois, as a factious aristocrat, and the Duke of Orleans as factious by more popular means. All these plotters of evil, as well as the agents of despotism, shall be disappointed by the force of circumstances.

I think I shall present to-day my project of declaration of rights, which will be referred by the committees. No deliberation will be taken, and I fancy they will delay discussing the different projects until the labours of the constitution be achieved.

———, Three o'clock, ———, July 13th, 1789.

We learnt the disorders of Paris in the midst of the assembly. A deputation was sent to the king, to ask him for necessary powers to tranquillize the people. I suppose they will speak of dismissing the ministers, recalling others, sending away the troops, and establishing a citizen guard. As soon as that deputation returns, another will set out for Paris, to which I shall belong. But fear nothing on my account: our mantle will protect us against all perils, as well as impose on us the obligation of not compromising ourselves. If the king be conscious of the danger to which he has been exposed, if he allow us to act, we shall avert the storm, and even if a faction should arise, we shall be able to destroy it. But if the ministers recover from the alarm they at present feel, if they resume their late atrocities, the state may be exposed to great calamities.

From the Assembly, Nine o'clock.*

The king did not choose us to go to Paris; he yielded to the perfidious counsellors who surround him; he will not allow us to calm the agitation of the capital. The assembly then passed the following resolutions:—

That M. Necker and the other ministers carry away with them the esteem and regret of the nation;

That it will never cease insisting upon sending away the troops, and appointing citizen guards;

* The same day as the preceding, the king's answer displeased the assembly. The council still persisted in projects that were defeated the next day.

That it acknowledges no intermediate persons between itself and the king;

That it renders the civil and military agents of authority responsible for all they may do contrary to the rights of the nation and the decrees of the assembly;

That it renders especially the present ministers, and all the king's council, whatever be their rank, situation, and functions, responsible for existing evils, and all those that may ensue;

That it places the creditors of the state under the protection of French loyalty, and declares that no power has the right of pronouncing the infamous word, bankruptcy, and of violating public faith, upon any plea whatever;

That it persists in its decision as to the inviolability of deputies, the unity of the assembly, and the oath of never separating until the constitution be formed;

That these resolutions be sent to the king and published.

Several members of the majority lent their adherence, and much union reigned in the assembly. The king is at the committee; he intends going, it is said, to Compeigne. The assembly determined not to separate, and as one president is not sufficient, it appointed a vice-president: the choice fell upon me.

Versailles, Six o'clock, morning, July 14th.

THE vice-presidency made me pass a watchful night. I proposed breaking up the meeting; they proved the chamber had resolved that we should not separate. A large majority cried out that we must remain. A great number of the members of com-

mons, several members of the nobility and clergy, walked about in the hall, while I slumbered on a bench. I hear that messages were sent to the houses of several deputies, to inquire of their landlords whether they slept from home. We know nothing of the result of the committee. They write me word from Paris that all is tranquil, and that the citizens are under arms. I suppose we shall receive this morning a deputation from the town, and nothing can be more singular than our present situation. The day will be an important one. I hope we shall go to bed, for the only pretence for sitting up was the agitation of Paris, which is now appeased. We must manœuvre with the ministers, and labour incessantly for the public good. What you write to me of —— affords me great pleasure. I am most anxious to see him out of all this turmoil. We shall perceive that all the soldiers will do as much as those of the guard; and as the national and ministerial parties will now separate in good earnest, it is perfectly natural to retire.

Paris, July 16th.

You must have learnt what happened to me yesterday. A word had scarcely been said to me about commanding the Parisian militia, when that idea took immediate possession of every one; my acceptation became necessary; it is become also necessary that I should remain, as the people, in the delirium of their enthusiasm, can only be restrained by me. I wished to go to Versailles; the chief authorities of the town have declared to me that the safety of Paris depends upon my not quitting it for a moment. Forty thousand people assemble,—the

public fermentation is at the highest pitch,—I appear, and at one word from me they all disperse. I have already saved the lives of five or six persons whom they were on the point of hanging, in various parts of the city; but these infuriated, intoxicated men, will not always listen to me. At the very moment I am writing to you, eighty thousand people surround the Hotel de Ville, and say they have been deceived, that the troops do not retire, and that the king ought to come.* They will only acknowledge what I myself have signed. When I am not present their heads become completely turned——. It is said that the king is not sending away the troops; in this case, all is over with us, but if I absent myself for more than four hours, we are completely lost. In every case, my situation is unlike that of any other person. I at present govern Paris; but it is reigning over an infuriated people, urged on by most abominable cabals; on the other hand, a thousand infamous tricks have been played them, of which they have full right to complain. At this very moment they are uttering horrible cries. If I appear they will become calm; but others will take their place. Farewell.

——, July 18th.

I AM in tolerably good health, considering the dreadful fatigue I undergo. My credit remains firm, in spite of the efforts of some ill-intentioned persons, who endeavour to ruin me in every district. My present labours would require some forces, and fifty clever men, to assist me, and I am almost with-

* He came the next day.

out co-operators. The king wrote to me yesterday to beg me to prevent the four companies of guard from going to Versailles.* I was obliged to persuade them to remain, which was less irksome to me, as I myself wished them to do so; and as they told me that their comrades would come to Paris, if I did not send them word to remain at Versailles, I despatched an aide-de-camp to apprise them of my intentions, and recommended them only to make use of my name at the last extremity, from regard to the situation of the king. You will perceive that the power I enjoy, renders me respectful and moderate.

I have just written to the districts, that my election, having been made by acclamation at the Hotel de Ville, was not a regular one, and that I should only exercise it provisionally, until they had named a chief. From the affection evinced towards me, I feel no doubt of the selection they will make.

I send you a letter I received last night from the prince. It reached me at six o'clock. He has been to Versailles for his passport, and I believe that he has in reality departed.†

* The French guards, who were in Paris, wished to rejoin their comrades who had remained for the king's service, and these latter were desirous of quitting him to come to Paris.—(See Memoirs of Bailly, v. 2.)

† The first detachment of emigrants set out on the 18th of July. In addition to the Count d'Artois, several other princes were of the party: the Princes de Condé and de Conti, de Lambesc, and de Vaudemont.

TO THE DUKE DE LIANCOURT.

Paris, July 20th, 1789.

I BEG your pardon, my dear Liancourt, for only writing you a note, and I depend on your friendship to arrange rather better what you will say to the national assembly.

Our night has been tolerably quiet, at least I have hitherto received no ill reports. Measures are taking to re-establish a free circulation, but their success is not yet complete. The theatres will be open to-morrow; I shall endeavour to prevent the occurrence of accidents.

I have sent a guard to Poissy, one to Peck, and one to Chatou. The post at Poissy will enter into an understanding with the nearest regiment. The committee of subsistences has asked me for some troops for Etampes and Corbeil; and I am going to take measures in consequence.

It is very desirable that the citizens of the other towns should follow the example of Paris. You must be aware that the disposal of the troops who are with us, and the want of organization in the different districts, render it very difficult to send detachments. It is easier for me to place eighty thousand men under arms than to make the arrangements the committee of subsistences has full right to require. To this labour I shall most assiduously devote myself, and I am sensible of its vast importance.

I have demanded statements of all the armed citizens under the institution of districts, of the soldiers forming part of our militia, of the arms, ammunition, &c., of which we can dispose. Each dis-

trict sends me this morning a deputy to choose a committee who will occupy itself with projects of organization for the Parisian militias.

Farewell, my dear Liancourt, I present you my affectionate regards.

The patrols arrest every night armed and unknown persons, and we take every possible means of allowing no patrols in the streets, except those authorized by the districts.

———, July 24th.*

My embarrassments only redouble. You cannot imagine the consternation my resignation occasioned. All the districts sent to conjure me to remain; they knelt before me, wept, and swore to obey me in all things. What can I do? I am in despair. Infamous calumnies are preparing against me; the populace is guided by an invisible hand. I was obliged yesterday to give some hopes of remaining to secure a tranquil night. I cannot abandon citizens who place their whole confidence in me,—and if I remain, I am placed in the dreadful situation of witnessing evils which I cannot remedy.

.....

I am a little better now. Paris is in a tranquil state; the infernal cabal that besieges me appears guided by foreigners. This idea consoles me; for nothing is so painful as being persecuted by one's own fel-

* Two days after the assassination of MM. Foulon and Berthier.

low-citizens. You cannot imagine the affecting scenes my resignation occasioned. I trust this will give me the power of being useful.*

.....

I FEEL a great wish to converse with you;† you must grant me an interview on Tuesday. In the meantime, I send you answers to all your propositions.

Do not calculate what I can do, for I shall not make use of that power. Do not calculate what I have done, for I shall accept no recompence. Calculate the public advantage, the welfare and liberty of my country, and believe that I shall refuse no burthen, no danger, provided that, at the hour of tranquillity, I may return to private life; for there now remains but one step for my ambition,—that of arriving at zero.

This shall ever be my line of conduct. If the king refuses the constitution, I shall oppose him; if he accepts it, I shall defend him; and the day on which he gave himself up as my prisoner secured me more fully to his service, than if he had promised me half his kingdom. But we require also a constitution, and we are going to labour for it.

My situation is a very extraordinary one: I am engaged in an important business, and it gives me pleasure to reflect, I shall withdraw from it without

* This letter is written the same day, or the day after the preceding.

† From the last words of this letter, we perceive that it must have been written a few days before the St. Louis (25th of August). Much anxiety had been experienced: they feared for Paris the absence of the authorities, and for Versailles the presence of too many Parisians.

having to reproach myself with a single ambitious feeling; and after having established all things in their proper place, I shall retire with one-fourth of the fortune I possessed on entering the world.

We shall arrive with a hundred and thirty men, and only thirteen officers, and fifteen members of the municipality. The ministers are well pleased with this arrangement. I shall endeavour to prevent other armed citizens from being present; but this will be no easy task.

Our subsistences go on very badly. All hell appears conjured against us. Grant us your angelic benedictions, and feel no anxiety on my account. I trust that we shall bring the kingdom out of danger.

Paris, Sunday.

You ask me my opinion upon the present discussions.* This question even is a testimony in my favour, for it proves that I retain the reputation of impartiality; the only one that can be applied with propriety to force, when armed in the cause of liberty; but this ought never to possess the slightest influence over the opinions of the assembly.

I believe that the famous *veto* is an insignificant dispute. All parties agree that the absolute *veto* is never used, and should be considered but as a jewel of the crown. I think that a suspensory *veto* may be

* The 17th of August, the assembly began seriously the discussion of the constitution, and the six following weeks were devoted to the examination of the most important questions. The debates on the *veto* began towards the end of August, and were only ended the 11th of September. The unity of the chamber was decreed on the 10th. This letter is during the first days of September.

rendered more useful to authority than one of which no use is ever made. The iterant *veto*, which gives the king six years to consult the nation or influence the representatives is, according to my opinion, the most advantageous to executive power. I imagine it will unite a great plurality of votes; I should like it in that case better than a small majority; I should like it, above all, better than procrastination; I should like it better than a secession of some provinces; and, upon the whole, this form of royal sanction rather pleases me. But if the absolute *veto* passes, I shall feel no regret, for there is much to be said in its favour, and I should fear far more the opposition of others than feel disposed to oppose it myself. The iterant *veto* is, however, the one I prefer.

I am undoubtedly for two chambers, not for one hereditary chamber, but for a senate named for six years, or even longer, if desired, by the provincial assemblies. That senate should possess a suspensory *veto*, and thus delay the decisions of the assembly of representatives, and even if the senate (should it subsist but for six years) enjoyed a high station from the age, property, and certain judicial functions, of the deputies, I believe senators here would readily be found as in America. I should see no inconvenience in the senate being elected for a longer term, although this one appears to me of sufficient length.

The provincial assemblies ought to be very numerous, and composed but of few members, to avoid the party spirit of confederated and privileged provinces. They ought to have direct communication with the executive power, who would refer to them a portion of her functions, and on whom they should themselves depend.

The armed force of the kingdom must in no case

be independent of the executive power, whose situation, as regards the national militias, will be difficult to regulate, because the citizen guards must depend on the municipalities, and yet cannot be beyond the influence of the king.

These are some of my ideas upon the present state of affairs, but I do not allow myself to speak of them. It is proper that I should defend the congress, without influencing its deliberations. I wish that nothing written, or even positively spoken by me, on this subject, should be brought forward. The assembly is perfectly free, and ought to feel perfectly secure. We shall adopt whatever they decide upon. I shall expect you to-morrow at dinner, at Madame T——'s. I should be glad if Mounier would come also.

Paris, Tuesday.*

It will be truly unfortunate if they are not satisfied with me. I spoke this morning to the commons on the necessity of punishing factious persons; on complete submission to the national assembly; on the disavowal we ought to give to any influence being exercised for or against the *veto;* on the good example the provinces expect from us; on the project of forming federative states; on the necessity of proclaiming the tranquillity of the capital, for

* Paris and all France were much agitated during the discussion of the royal *veto.* This letter is written at that period, probably the 8th of September, the day after M. de La Salle (who had desired that the denunciation given against him should be rigidly examined) had been put at liberty on the declaration of the national assembly, and had come to return thanks to the assembly of the commons.

which I answered sufficiently for all the troops to retire: I shall only leave, in fact, a sentry on each bridge.

The moment when the constitution becomes the subject of debate shall be marked by a renewal of declarations of the most firm and complete submission to the decrees, whatever they may be, of the national assembly, and of a determination to defend the nation, the king, the law, and the commons, against every plot attainting their authority. We express ourselves in such a manner that no party can complain of having been beaten by an intrigue, or by the fear of the Palais Royal; and while all the provinces place restraints on the assembly by the expression of their opinions, Paris announces a state of tranquillity, impartiality, and obedience.

It is said that I wish to yield protection to some friends, and I only demand a public proceeding.

It is said that I am quietly drawing closer to Versailles, and I am withdrawing the troops.

It is said that I wish to influence the deliberations, and I do not even go to the assembly, but deprive myself the pleasure and honour of participating in those deliberations; I only employ my influence to protect all the members, and facilitate the freedom of opinions.

It is not my fault if the Dauphiné and the Vermandois are fighting in favour of the *veto*, and that Britanny, Artois, and Franche-Comté, are fighting against it, but the fault of those who, looking upon political combinations as it is proper to look at present upon a principle of natural right, (and what would have been said if I had rejected the provincial assemblies or the states of the Dauphiné, because there were amongst them combinations of orders?) have refused to accept me as mediator in

a plan which would have left the king the absolute *veto*, with so large a majority that there would be no longer any fear of civil war.

I have done what I ought to do as a good Frenchman, and as a friend of peace. I remain firm to my duty as general of the only army that dares to shew itself. *Impartiality! tranquillity!*

Any person but myself would have been rendered unpopular a hundred times. The people are excited to accuse me of aristocracy, of royalty, of favouring the guilty, and, lastly, M. de La Salle, whom I embraced yesterday in the midst of the public square; but I shall only become an honest man when I prefer war to an iterant *veto*, and when I believe that Mounier would risk his life by coming to dine with me: I confess these are both, to me, impossibilities.

Was not everything lost when I made my declaration of rights, when I demanded those citizen guards that took the Bastille?

You believe that Maubourg, because he often disapproves of Duport, and I often disapprove of him also, thinks him a villain. I confide to you the letter he has written to me. Recollect that it is written by one of the most virtuous men in existence. I shall add, that M. Duport has declared that he did not choose even the appearance of having gained anything by the revolution. I do not excuse him in all respects, but believe that a man, enthusiastic in his principles of virtue, whose rigid ideas have caused the ruin of many opulent men, may be calumniated with harshness in this period of agitation.

I was very well pleased to hear that you were at the head of the king's councils and armies; you have managed extremely well. They will not be dissatisfied with me. I have calmed the fermenta-

tion, and it is not from us that disorders will spring; but I hope the king will seize every opportunity of pleasing Paris, without pointing out, however, any positive manner of doing so, that I may not appear to oblige him to take any measure. Is it true that M. d'Estaing announces the king's wish of going to Metz.* The government must assure us of it, frankly and circumstantially. I shall be for them as far as I can be so without injuring the cause of beloved liberty.

P. S.—I am too triumphant to-day to be ill-tempered.

.....

Our affairs do not go on very badly, and not very well either. Government has made some phrases, and the assembly is displeased. I believe that our subsistences will be carried; and although Mirabeau quarrels with the minister, he remains on good terms with me. M. Necker is a terrible person for saying and not doing.†

* The famous letter of M. d'Estaing, written to the queen to dissuade her from her journey to Metz, is of the 14th of September. This letter was written in the course of that month.—(See the Memoirs of Ferrières, vol. 4.)—The fermentation was very great at Paris during this period.

† It had been reported that the king would sanction the decrees of the celebrated night of the 4th of August. A prolix and cautious speech dissatisfied the assembly, the 18th of September.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMONS.*

I LEARN that the assembly of representatives of the commons, and that of the districts, have deigned to suspend their labours, to turn their attention towards my appointments. I entreat you, sir, to place before them my observations of the 7th of September, and the kindness with which my wishes were then acceded to. The circumstances, my opinion, and my wishes, are the same at present. Permit me to hope that the same proof of confidence will not be refused me. This would add another claim to the sincere and respectful gratitude which unites with my warm feelings of eternal devotion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

* A short time after the refusal of the appointments, the 7th of September.

TWO RELATIONS

OF

THE EVENTS OF THE 5TH AND 6TH OF OCTOBER.

FIRST RELATION.*

V.

It would be too minute if we were to repeat here all the accounts received previous to the 6th October, which convinced the municipality of Paris, and the staff of the national guard, of the existence of an intrigue, formed by the adversaries of the revolution, to alarm the king respecting his situation, and oblige him, in spite of his own reluctance, to repair to Metz.† Of this truth, many friends of the king, not

* This first relation is found in the *Collection of Speeches* made in 1829.

† We have in our possession a note written at the same period by M. de Lafayette:—

Denunciation of the Projects previous to the 6th of October.

This is one of the numerous accounts which led me to believe that the aristocracy was not foreign to the tumult of Versailles. On the 21st of September, a good citizen came to apprize me of the following plot: 4,000 men, having 1,800 horses, of which a portion belong to the Prince de Conti, are enrolled. The musketeers and gens-d'armes have been summoned; 9,200 men of the king's household can be formed, of which two-thirds would be nobles.

The Duke of Orleans will be seized; the assembly of the general states dispersed; the king carried off and taken to a garrison. M. Bailly and M. de Lafayette will have their throats cut instantly.

If the French guards go to Versailles, that troop will mingle with them, and may strike the blow: this was prevented by my

less personally attached to him than Lafayette, but much less devoted to the new order of things, never for a moment doubted. The chronicles of the day, and the relations of various parties, to which may be added the recollections of contemporaries, attest that the disorganizing faction, composed of many elements of intrigue, confusion, and crimes, took advantage of this intention to advance their own plans with great talent and activity.

After the dispersion or dismissal of the regiments assembled at the period of the 14th of July, the king retained a portion of the French guards, who, at his desire, were at first left for some days at Versailles, and finally recalled to Paris; the national guard of Versailles, of which Lafayette had refused the command, replaced them. Four companies of *gardes-du-corps* were at that time serving in rotation,—that is to say, that every three months they supplied, under

opposing their departure the other day. The chief of the cavalry volunteers of the Tuileries is in the plot; he is named La Montagne. If the affair of Versailles should not take place, they will take possession of Montargis, whither they will be joined by the Baron de Viomenil, and afterwards by the Prince de Condé: they hope to assemble 25,000 men and cut off our convoys. M. de Viomenil has brought men from Alsace; the enemy will endeavour to supply us with flour for some time. The clergy and monks will give money; 100,000 crowns are expected from an attorney of the bénédictins, and as much more from a Belgian. Complaints are made that the king gave, yesterday, his sanction; they have four cannons; they depend on the carabineers and eighteen regiments who have not taken the oath.

The same officer returned on the 30th, and told me the person who had spoken to him was gone to Burgundy on a commission; but he had seen a man in the *rue Royale*, at the first large door on the right: he told him the plot was going on; that the queen, M. d'Estaing, and M. de Saint-Priest, are in the secret; that they hope to draw the king into the plot; that they have several general officers and members of the national assembly. M. de Lau —— is now over: they have arms.

the orders of one of their captains, the fourth part of their men. On the arrival of the October guard, the one of July had not been dismissed; the horse guard was in this manner doubled. A regiment of Swiss guards continued its accustomed service, and some additional force had lately been obtained by sending for a squadron of chasseurs. But all this did not suffice for their intended undertaking; for they foresaw that the national guard of Versailles would become an obstacle rather than support to them; they conceived it therefore necessary to summon two new battalions, and they selected in preference the Flemish regiment. A plausible pretext was requisite, and they invented this. In moments of public effervescence, Bailly and Lafayette, as well as the magistrates of Paris and the committees of the commons, never failed to report the threatened evils to the minister charged with preserving order. After the reception of a note, in which Lafayette announced to M. de Saint-Priest some tendency to disorder, they assembled with solemnity the chiefs of the national guard, the municipal officers of Versailles, and asked them to take an oath of secrecy on what they were going to confide to them, "from the fear," they added, "of compromising Lafayette." His note was then read, which acquired, from the mystery thrown over this affair, much more importance than it deserved; in support of this document, other insignificant notes were produced, written on various occasions; and in this manner was obtained, not only the consent of the magistrates of Versailles to summon the Flemish regiment, but their earnest entreaties to hasten its arrival. They then applied to the national assembly, who received this request as an ordinary precaution of the police.

It was then only that Bailly and Lafayette were

apprized of the occurrence. They were displeased at this breach of confidence, and foresaw the advantage various parties would derive from it; but they could not oppose a legal act.

The authors of this intrigue were only desirous of inspiring with the same opinions the troops they had managed to assemble, and of inducing them to act in concert. They neglected no means of flattering the national guard of Versailles, although they cordially detested it, as well as all citizen-militias; but they felt the danger of having it for an adversary, and they hoped to excite divisions amongst its members. It was from this motive that the two famous repasts were given* that have been so perfectly well characterized by a phrase of Joseph II. M. de Ségur, minister of France, in Russia, returning home, through Vienna, some time after the 6th of October, asked the orders of the emperor for his own court; "What can be said," replied that monarch, "to people who allow repasts to be made for *gardes-du-corps*, without being secure of their army?"

A part of this plan, which so little attempt was made to conceal, was to win over the French guards. An order for their reduction had been issued, at the instigation of the court, after the taking of the Bastille, that the king might not appear to have been abandoned by troops employed in his personal service; emissaries were set to work, and amongst them were several officers of that corps, who were charged with acting upon their former soldiers, of making them regret the advantages of the post they had lost, of exciting their jealousy against the national guard who had replaced them, and of inspiring them with the desire of resuming their service with the king. These insinuations but half succeeded;

* The 1st and 2d of October.

the soldiers of the guard were far from wishing to quit their situation of hired troops in the national guard; but many of them seized with avidity the idea of exercising both their former and present functions, and Lafayette had some difficulty in dissuading them from this project.*

* It was this gave rise to the note addressed to M. de Saint-Priest, which was divulged to the national guard of Versailles. A year afterwards, when relating this circumstance in a report upon the accusations resulting from the proceedings of the châtelet against the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau, M. Chabroud left some doubts upon the public mind: General Lafayette then wrote the next day to the president of the national assembly:—

"MR. PRESIDENT,—I learn that in the report made yesterday to the assembly, a letter from me is alluded to, as well as the singular and irregular use that was made of it. That note, which I enclose, was written from the Hotel de Ville, not to M. d'Estaing, but to M. de Saint-Priest, minister of the department.

"I have the honour, &c.

"October 3d, 1790. "LAFAYETTE."

(Copy of a note addressed to M. de Saint-Priest, some days previous to the 5th of October, 1789.)

"SIR,—M. de la Rochefoucauld must have told you the idea that had been given to the grenadiers of going to-night to Versailles; I wrote to you to feel no anxiety on the subject, because I fully depended on their confidence in me for enabling me to defeat this project; and I must do them the justice of saying, that they intended asking my permission, and that several of them fancied they were doing a very simple thing, which I should myself command. Four words from me were sufficient to stop the whole affair; and the sole idea that remains impressed on my mind is, that of the exhaustless resources of the caballers. You must only look upon this circumstance as upon indication of evil projects, but not in any respect as a real danger.

"Send my letter to M. de Montmorin. "LAFAYETTE.

"P.S. The report had been circulated in all the companies of grenadiers, and the rendezvous was for three o'clock on the place Louis XV."

They finally proposed exciting the passions of the populace against the national assembly,—thus employing for its destruction the very power that had hitherto supported it. It must be remembered that since the month of June, 1789, the town of Paris was suffering from a famine, partly real, partly factitious, which caused, during the first year of the revolution, the torment of the magistrates and of the commander general, exposed the public to the most imminent peril, and was the principal resource of intriguers and seditious people. The national assembly, unfortunately, on an exposition of the embarrassments in which the commissioners charged with supplying grain found themselves placed, had interfered in this branch of administration, by creating a committee of subsistences. It thus appeared to usurp the exercise of executive power, and made itself responsible for whatever might occur. This error became soon apparent; the committee of subsistences fulfilled no functions of any kind; the magistrates of Paris alone occupied themselves with the supplies, which belonged naturally to their department. But if the assembly had mistaken the limits of its own duties, it may be rationally supposed that the people, incapable, especially during the excitement of first impressions, of discovering the precise line that separates the legislative power from the government, were liable to be misled by perfidious suggestions, and the natural idea that their representatives ought to provide for their necessities. And that in reality occurred; it became easy to persuade the multitude that the members of the national assembly had the power of bringing back abundance, and that to obtain bread, it was sufficient to demand it from them.

No person was ignorant of those counter-revolu-

tionary preparations, of which the danger consisted in facilitating other projects; for since the 14th of July, three separate intrigues subsisted at the same time: the court, the Orleanist party, and the one that assumed afterwards the name of Jacobin. The two latter more frequently acted together than in concert: the Jacobins wished to make themselves feared,—the Orleanists to conceal themselves: the court lent assistance to both by the errors it committed. Its conduct previous to the 5th of October induced the mass of the citizens to unite with the agitators. It is certain that one portion of the Duke of Orleans' party hoped that he would attain the throne. He yielded to the suggestions of that party, of whom some conspirators contributed to the attempt of the 6th of October. Some days, however, before the repasts of the gardes-du-corps, various rioters in the public places, intending to carry their opinion to the assembly, had been dispersed. Lafayette thought proper to place guards in the roads leading to the assembly; but the deputies, whose independence he had wished to secure, were the first to complain of this measure, as if the supposition of danger were a mode of employing influence. He was obliged to withdraw the guards.

We have seen what were the views of the factious, and the disposition of the public mind, when, on the morning of the 5th of October, the tocsin sounded; a crowd of men and women, armed with pikes, burst into the Hotel de Ville, in spite of the resistance of the guard and the brave officers commanding it. They were driven away, not without difficulty, after they had committed some pillage. But other bands arrived from all the faubourgs, and although a fresh reinforcement of the national guard had been sent for, crowds of people, increasing

every moment, soon completely filled la Grève, the quays, and the adjacent streets. Lafayette had repaired to the scene at the first alarm; he found the interior of the Hotel de Ville perfectly quiet.

Santerre, a commander of battalion, and an instrument to the Orleanist faction, had gone, at an early hour that morning, to the mayor of Paris, to invite him to repair to a small country-house; but from the advice of the committee of police, and with an escort given by Lafayette, Bailly returned, and was able to deliberate with the members of commons, assembled in their usual hall of meeting. Their first act was to despatch couriers to Versailles, to give information of the progress of the rioters, who had just substituted to the cry of *bread!* that of *Let us go to Versailles!*

Lafayette, after having received the orders of the commons, proceeded to the square of the Hotel de Ville, declared that he would not go to Versailles, and forbade the national guard from going there. The fermentation became excessive; but from nine o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon his determination remained unchanged. This resistance on his part had been most probably foreseen: it is a certain fact that the fatal lantern was drawn down several times for him; a musket was twenty times pointed at his head. At the same time, about eleven o'clock in the morning, while he was in the hall of the committee of police, presided by the abbé Fauchet, a great number of grenadiers, formerly French guards, presented themselves, followed by an immense crowd, calling loudly for him. He came forward. A young man, named Mercier, speaking for the rest, advanced and said: "My general, the king deceives us all, and you as well as others: we must depose him: his child shall be our

king; you shall be regent, and all things will go on well." Lafayette concluded that the idea of a regency had been suggested to them without any person having been designated, and that their thoughts naturally turned towards their general.

During those violent tumults, it would have been somewhat difficult to note down Lafayette's speeches, even if any person had thought of doing so. They were sufficiently powerful to restrain, during eight hours, the effervescence of the furious multitude surrounding him, and the impatience of the national guard, indignant at the insults heaped upon its colours, of the cries of *down with the nation!* and of the avowed intentions of counter-revolution which had marked the reports of the first days of October.

But already one band, small in number, and principally composed of women, had marched to Versailles.* Between four and five o'clock news arrived that it would soon be followed by several thousand men and women, armed with muskets and pikes, and bearing with them two or three pieces of cannon.† Lafayette, having received from the Hotel de Ville an order and two commissaries, provided hastily for the guard of Paris, and took the road to Versailles, at the head of several battalions. So strong was the general feeling of indignation experienced at that time in Paris and by the national guard

* It is strange enough that a Mademoiselle Théroigne de Méricourt, against whom a warrant of arrest had been issued in consequence of her conduct on the 5th of October, a fugitive in the low countries, arrested and conducted to Vienna, where she was afterwards admitted to an interview with the Emperor Leopold, should suddenly have reappeared at the assault of the palace of the Tuileries, the 10th of August. (Note of General Lafayette.)

† After the 14th of July, all the districts had cannons. (Note of General Lafayette.)

against the provokers of these tumults, that when he had given the permission to set out, he was loudly applauded on his road, especially by a crowd of well-dressed persons who lined the terrace of the Tuileries.

The first bands, joined to some of the groups of Versailles, had already made their entrance into the very hall of the national assembly; others had sent a deputation to the king; the most numerous party had endeavoured to penetrate into the palace, but were opposed by the gardes-du-corps; a scuffle ensued; one man on the side of the Parisians was killed; one officer amongst the guards, M. de Savonières, had his arm broken. The gardes-du-corps were then stationed in the garden; the Flemish regiment, on which they placed so much dependence, had been left in its own quarters.

Lafayette, before arriving at Versailles, halted for a few minutes with his column on the bridge of Sèvres: but that rubicon once passed, he ordered the troops to push through any obstacle that might oppose their passage; but they encountered none. The Flemish regiment, the officers at least, sent to demand his orders, and received that of remaining in their barracks.

He despatched the commandant of artillery of the town, with a general officer, to announce at the palace his dispositions, and the orders of the magistrates of Paris; the king had previously sent another officer to him, to declare "that he beheld his approach with pleasure, and that he had just accepted *his* declaration of rights."

Two patroles of gardes-du-corps, after having given the first challenge, fell back upon the palace; not a person appeared, and if a few musket-shots, which were not answered, were fired at the arrival of

his advance guard, it was evidently with the intention of engaging in an unequal conflict, which might have become sanguinary.

When he arrived near the hall of the assembly, Lafayette again halted his troops, addressed them, and made them renew the civil oath to the nation, the law, and the king. Before allowing them to advance, he wished to offer his respects to the president, and receive the commands of the king.

He presented himself alone with the two commissaries of the commons, before the closed and padlocked gate of the court of the palace, which was filled with Swiss guards. They refused to open the gate; and when Lafayette announced the intention of entering with his two companions only, the captain, who was spokesman on the occasion, expressed a degree of astonishment, to which he replied, by saying aloud: "Yes, Sir; and I shall always feel confidence in the midst of a brave regiment of Swiss guards." The gate at length opened. When Lafayette was crossing the *œil-de-bœuf*, a man exclaimed: "There is Cromwell."—"Sir," replied Lafayette, "Cromwell would not have entered alone."

His speech to the king, all circumstances considered, was deemed a very proper one; his majesty received him in public, and confided to him the former posts of the French guards.

When we enter fully into the state of things and of feelings at that period, and especially on that evening, we shall easily perceive, that if Lafayette had required that his troops should be placed in the palace, that if he had himself assumed the command of the gardes-du-corps, he could only have accomplished his aim by employing force; he must have made an irruption like the *brigands*; instead of being a guardian, he would have become an

usurper. The court was far from conceiving that the national guards could be authorized to take possession of the courts and halls occupied by the Swiss and the gardes-du-corps, in that palace where, a few hours after, it beheld with so much pleasure their arrival.

Lafayette took measures for lodging the troops, who were wet and fatigued by a seven hours' march. He placed one battalion by the hotel of the gardes-du-corps, and ordered patrols in the town and around the palace.* The entrance to the king's apartment was refused him at two o'clock in the morning; but his posts were perfectly well defended. At three o'clock, when the national assembly closed their meeting, everything was perfectly tranquil.

At the break of day, Lafayette had repaired to M. de Montmorin's house, within reach of his own grenadiers; and afterwards to the Hotel de Noailles, the head quarters of his staff, when an alarm was suddenly given by his sentinels and an officer on duty. The irruption of the *brigands*, which had taken place in an instant,† (through the gates not confided to the national guard,) was soon quelled by a company of grenadiers under the command of Cadignan, and by another company of volunteers, commanded by Captain Gondran. The soldiers arrived with precipitation; some hesitation was made about opening the gates; the *brigands* took to flight, and the palace was saved.

* M. de Ferrières, member of the constituent assembly, says, in his Memoirs, (vol. i. p. 327, edition of MM. Berville et Barrière,) "that, at eleven o'clock, a company of the hired guard of Paris presented itself at the gate of the Dragon, and demanded that it should be opened, to form patrols in the park." The regulation then was, that the national guard was to have no patrols on the side of the park.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

† About six o'clock in the morning.

While Lafayette was sending in haste these first succours, he was enabled, when repairing, himself, to the king, to save a group of gardes-du-corps. He found the apartments occupied by the national guard, praised their good conduct, and confided anew the royal family and its guards to their loyalty. He addressed from the balcony, with warmth, and even with some degree of violence, the multitude who had crowded into the marble court; and when the king and his family, after having promised to go to Paris, had retired from that balcony, "Madam," said he to the queen, "what are your intentions as respects yourself?" "I know the fate awaiting me," she replied, with magnanimity; "but my duty is to die at the feet of the king, and in the arms of my children." "Well then, madam, come with me." "What! alone on the balcony? Did you not see the signs they made me?" And those signs had been horrible, in truth. "Yes, madam, but let us go." And when, appearing with her before that tumultuous populace, still raging, like the waves of a stormy ocean, between a hedge of national guards, who lined three sides of the court, but could not control the centre, Lafayette, unable to make himself heard, had recourse to a decisive but hazardous sign; he kissed the hand of the queen. The multitude, struck by that action, exclaimed, "Long live the general! Long live the queen!"

The king, who was standing some paces behind, advanced on the balcony, and said, in an accent expressive of the deepest gratitude and feeling, "What are you now able to do for my guards?" "Bring me one of them," replied Lafayette; then, giving his cockade to that garde-du-corps, he em-

braced him; and the people cried out, "Long live the gardes-du-corps!"

Peace was from that moment made. The national guards and the gardes-du-corps returned back together, arm in arm, to Paris. Everything was arranged that the duty might be, in future, performed in common; and if those gardes-du-corps were not employed at the Tuileries, it was the fault of their chiefs and of the court, some of whom acted from a feeling of aristocracy, and others, that it might not be said the king was at liberty. That scene of the balcony was well worth the twenty hours of orations that had preceded it.

Lafayette abstained from being present at the council in which the departure from Versailles was decided; but he was charged with all the arrangements necessary to regulate this march of sixty thousand individuals. He has been painted, seated at the council table, giving passports to the members of the royal family, for themselves and their suite; all those personages ranged around the *dictator*.* It was not his fault, if the ministers, by their imprudence, compromised their own power so completely, that any passport signed by them would have been the cause of danger rather than a guarantee of protection; and if the provocations of the court had been followed by so much irritation and distrust, the refusal of the safeguard demanded of him might have been blamed with far greater justice. While he was occupied with the arrange-

* The very morning of the 6th of October, General Lafayette had presented himself at an apartment into which, according to the rules of etiquette, no person could enter but by a peculiar favour; a high officer advanced to him, and said, very seriously, "Sir, the king grants you the entrance of the cabinet."

ments consigned to his care, he was apprized that some gardes-du-corps, seized upon by the multitude, were in imminent peril; and the king requested him to do all he could to save them. Lafayette hastened to give orders for their release, and they were set at liberty. This is what has been called, "signing to the king the pardon of his guards."

He took care to persuade the people to march in advance, to order several battalions to follow them, and only to retain the escort necessary for the safety of the royal family. In spite of these precautions, they were very long in reaching Paris. Lafayette was himself on horseback, close to the carriage of the king. He could not be present at every different point, to prevent obstacles from rising, and oppose frequent halts.

They reached the Hotel de Ville through an immense concourse of people. It was night, and they feared that the fermentation had not yet subsided.* But the royal family was received by the representatives of the commons with every mark of respect that could be expected from these excellent citizens. It is well known that Bailly, charged with expressing from the king some words of affection for the town, forgot the word *confidence*. The queen pointed out this omission to him; and Bailly, taking advantage, in a graceful manner, of this opportunity of bringing her forward, "Gentlemen," said he, "when you hear it from the lips of the queen, you are happier than if I had not made that mistake."

* The queen consulted General Lafayette, whether she should not expose herself to danger by stopping at the Tuileries, without going to the Hotel de Ville. The general demanded, on his side, the opinion of M. Moreau de Saint Méry, who answered, "I fully hope that the queen may return from the Tuileries; but I doubt whether she could arrive alone at the Tuileries."

Lafayette brought that retinue to the palace of the Tuileries, which became the residence of the royal family until the 10th August, 1792.

"I owe you more than my life," said Madame Adelaide to Lafayette, "I owe you that of the king, and of my poor nephew." When the royal family presented themselves at the Hotel de Ville, where all assumed a calmer aspect, Lafayette felt a hand pressing his with a feeling of deep gratitude, and he was gratified to find it was that of Madame Elizabeth; and this generous-minded princess, at a later period, sent him word to withdraw a letter written from Versailles to the commons of Paris, of which, in case of a counter-revolution, they intended to make use in his trial, "thinking it infamous," she added, "to turn against himself a circumstance by which he had saved their lives." And yet, of the whole family, she was the one who least bent to the necessities of the revolution. It may be easily supposed that Lafayette answered, that he was touched by this proceeding, but that the letter should remain in its place.* The king and queen, until their last days, acknowledged, that on that occasion they owed their safety to him.

During those first days, it was not against their protectors that the displeasure of the gardes-du-corps had turned; but it was directed against the officers, who, instead of remaining in their hall, had gone to sleep in different parts of the town; it was in particular excited against an officer of the staff, habitually on service, who passed the hours of dan-

* The king, uneasy about his own family, had at first decided that Madame Elizabeth should accompany her aunts to Bellevue; but General Lafayette, on the entreaty that princess addressed to him, at length obtained that she should follow the royal family to Paris.—(Note found in the papers of General Lafayette.)

ger in a secret place, where, perhaps, his uniform and sword may still remain, but whose counter-revolutionary ardour and secret missions have since promoted to the first places at court.

The negligence of the guard of the interior had been so great, that one of the gates, of which the keys were in the palace, had been found open, no person knew how, at the moment of the irruption.

The day after the 6th of October, as Lafayette was going out of his house with a numerous suite, the Duke de Villeroi, one of the four captains of the gardes-du-corps, presented himself to abjure the conduct of his subordinates, and declare that he had taken no part in their misdemeanors the night before. "So much the worse for you, sir," replied Lafayette, "for they conducted themselves extremely well."*

* As the enemies of the revolution reproach us exclusively with the want of discipline of the troops, it would be easy to recal to them some anecdotes which prove that the example was given by themselves. A petition had been presented by the gardes-du-corps to the states-general, complaining that the king appointed foreigners as their officers, instead of selecting the latter amongst their own corps: they had even required that these should be named according to seniority, and resolved to accept no officers from the king appointed in a manner that displeased them. The last *gards* thus appointed ran the risk of not being received. On their side, the officers of the garrison of Strasburg signed a petition to the states-general against the government, and demanded that the assembly should render justice to their complaints. This document was carried to the council of war, and the affair was hushed up. Many other examples might be quoted, which prove to what a degree discipline was lost in France, from the general-in-chief to the lowest under-lieutenant.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

SECOND RELATION.*

VI.

I SHALL not take advantage of contemporary or more recent publications, and of the recollection of several thousand witnesses, to retrace the eight hours' duration of the most violent and most general tumult I have ever witnessed. I shall not make a merit of having so long, by my speeches, and perhaps by my intrepidity, restrained the impatience of the national guards, indignant at the insults heaped on the patriotic cockade, and the dense masses of an impetuous multitude, filling the square and streets, and crying out at first *bread!* and afterwards *To Versailles!* and whose fury nothing could modify beyond the limits that my voice could reach.

The numerous and armed hordes who quitted Paris on the 5th of October, and who, united with the populace of Versailles, committed the disorders of that day, were totally distinct from the immense assemblage that, blockading up themselves and us, made it difficult for the news of that tumultuous departure for Versailles to reach the Hotel de Ville. I instantly perceived that whatever might be the consequence of this double movement, the public safety required that I should take part in it, and, after having received from the Hotel de Ville an order and two commissaries, I hastily provided for the guard of Paris, and took the road to Versailles, at the head of several battalions.

* This relation is extracted from a collection of materials relating to the revolution, written in 1814, and intended at that time for publication.

When we approached the hall of the assembly, the troops renewed their oath. They only advanced after I had offered my respects to the president, and received orders from the king, who, having heard speeches from the commissaries and me, desired me to occupy the posts of the former French guards; and in truth, at that time, the pretension of taking possession of the palace would have appeared a most singular one. Not only the gardes-du-corps on service, but the Swiss sentinels stationed in the garden, and four hundred gardes-du-corps on horseback by the Trianon side, did not depend in the slightest degree upon me.

I did not, undoubtedly, carry terror into the palace; I answered for my own troops; the result proved that I was right in doing so. I was not sufficiently master of the minds of the courtiers to believe that their security depended solely on myself: for example, it was not I who sent to their own homes, in the town of Versailles, the greatest number of the officers of the gardes-du-corps; nor was it I who sent to Rambouillet, at two o'clock in the morning, (instead of employing them in forming patrols,) the four hundred horse guards placed on the side of the gardens of Trianon.*

I procured lodgings for the drenched and fatigued troops; I ascertained that the Hotel des gardes-du-corps was defended by a battalion; I ordered patrols in the town and around the palace. The entrance into the king's chamber was refused me at two

* I have been told by a person worthy of credit, who had this piece of intelligence from M. de la Tour du Pin, minister, that the king had hesitated until two in the morning, respecting the projects of flight proposed to him: this explains the station of the Duke of Guiche and his detachment in the garden, and their sudden dismissal.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

o'clock in the morning; I then repaired to the house of M. de Montmorin, in the minister's court, within reach of my grenadiers. At break of day all things appeared to me to wear a tranquil aspect; I went to the Hotel de Noailles, very near the palace, in which the staff received reports. I made some necessary arrangements for Paris; I partook of some refreshments, and should have believed that exhausted nature required, after more than twenty hours unremitting exertion, some repose, if, a few moments later, a sudden alarm had not restored to me all my strength.

That infernal irruption was, in truth, most sudden, and perfectly distinct from the other tumults. Two gardes-du-corps were killed; other brave and faithful guards stopped the brigands at the door of the apartment of the queen, who was conducted to the king by young Victor Maubourg, one of their officers.* The grenadiers of my advanced post, commanded by Cadignan, with Cathol, his sergeant-major, since become a colonel, and the illustrious General Hoche, had scarcely arranged themselves in order of battle, when they received my command to hasten to the palace. A volunteer company, under Captain Gondran, also repaired thither very hastily.

I flew at the same time to the spot, having sprung upon the first horse I met with. I was fortunate enough, in the first instance, to liberate a group of gardes-du-corps, and having confided them to the charge of the few persons who accompanied me, I remained surrounded by a furious mob, one of whom cried out to the others to kill me. I commanded

* Lieutenant-General Latour Maubourg, brother of the member of the constituent assembly, and minister of war under the restoration.

them to seize him, doubtless in a very authoritative voice, for they dragged him towards me, striking his head on the pavement.

I found the apartments occupied with national guards. The king deigned never to forget the scene that ensued, when the grenadiers, with tears in their eyes, promised me to perish unto the last man for him. During that time our troops were arriving; the courts were lined with national guards, and filled with a multitude in a high state of effervescence. Those who heard me address the king were not dissatisfied with my expressions.

I had long been of opinion that the assembly would be more quiet, and the king more secure in Paris. I refused, however, being present at the deliberation, (become necessary, I own,) in which that departure was decided upon; and as soon as the queen had declared her noble determination of accompanying the king, I did before thousands of witnesses, all that could be expected from the circumstances and my devotion.

It was then that, in the king's cabinet, while embraced by Madame Adelaide, I received from that respectable princess testimonies of approbation, that ill prepared me for the abuse from which I have since been obliged to vindicate myself.

The statements of the proceedings of the châtelet have mingled together the assertions, opinions, reports, and even suppositions, of men of all parties. Such absurd accusations are found there, as that Mirabeau was seen on the 5th, armed with a sabre, amongst the soldiers of a Flemish regiment; that a prince distributed money at six o'clock in the morning; and several other tales of the same nature, of which the falsehood is evident, without ever being able to believe that so many and such respectable

witnesses intended to perjure themselves; which proves that we must ever distrust the delusions of party spirit.

It is strange that so long and so general an investigation, and one to which were admitted various parties equally animated in the cause, has not produced a more positive result. It has even weakened some testimonies to which I had yielded the warmest confidence. That confidence was natural, when we consider the misfortunes that had occurred, and the risk of still greater calamities that we had so narrowly escaped.

I have looked over some letters from officers and gardes-du-corps, found in the king's cabinet, written in 1790 and 1791. Some of them, addressed to a friend, are evidently intended to efface, at the expense of other persons, unfavourable expressions; as, for example, those of an under-lieutenant on guard, who complains of having been sent away from *œil-de-bœuf* by his chiefs and a porter, while it only depended upon himself to remain in the hall of the guards; and who, on his return, seeing the assassins, throws off his uniform, and only arrives at the queen's room after she has quitted it, and at the king's when he is surrounded by national guards.

Other letters contain inaccuracies, contradictions, and insignificant phrases; but all of them tend to prove that we only had charge of the ancient posts the French guards; that when the chiefs of the gardes-du-corps required instructions, it was to the king, the ministers, and M. d'Estaing, and not to me, that they thought proper to apply; that I had taken, and even redoubled, every precaution for the Hotel des gardes-du-corps; that those guards, as well as the palace, were saved by us, and that a wounded guard of the king selected my house in

Paris as the place in which he should best be taken charge of. These words, "*M. de Lafayette has saved us*," are continually repeated.

"One of the officers of the national guard," says M. de Mondollot, "desired me to embrace M. de Lafayette, saying that would produce most effect upon the people; having heard these words, he threw himself on my neck, his officers embraced me also, and this excited a great sensation in the people.*

All this might have preserved me from an abuse, renewed after an interval of five-and-twenty years, and from certain articles composed long after the scene alluded to, which evince a very different spirit from the effusions of gratitude which were showered on me during the first days of this event. I have preserved some of those letters, addressed *to the generous saviour to whom each and all are indebted for life*, before the aristocratical party had had time to fix their eyes upon the inconveniences which might be attached to a constitutional saviour. They were burnt during the terror. I received also visits from several of the king's guards, who, from their

* Toulongeon gives the following extract from the letter of a guard of the king, which was found after the 10th of August. (M. Bérard, brigadier of the company of Noailles, national archers:)

Troyes, February 16th, 1790.—"In this painful state of uncertainty, M. de Lafayette most fortunately arrived; he saved us by telling the people that he had given his sacred word to the king that no insult should be offered us. He called the national troops around him and told them that he confided to them the oath he had made to his majesty; the soldiers swore to observe this command, and watch over our safety. M. de Lafayette then addressed himself to us, desiring us to swear fidelity to the nation and the king, as all the troops had done, which we accordingly did——."

garrisons or provinces, expressed to me, on account of the occurrences of that day, sentiments of which the remembrance will ever remain dear to me.

But why should I any longer struggle with my reluctance to enter into dastardly accusations, which those even who repeat them do not believe? Must not the testimony alone of that prince, who more than any other person had the right of judging me with severity, suffice for all unprejudiced and candid people?

In the documents of the iron cupboard, printed by the convention during my captivity, it may be seen that, six months after the 6th of October (16th April, 1790), the king, in a note written to me by himself, expresses for me, "complete confidence, founded on the loyalty of my character, and my attachment to his person." I had never ceased, in reality, giving him proofs of that attachment, by speaking to him with the frankness which duty imposed on me, and by recalling to him that public tranquillity and the happiness of the royal family depended on the most sincere and constant adhesion to the constitutional principles of the revolution.

Three hundred and eighty-eight depositions have been heard by the order of the châtelet, without reckoning those that have been received by other tribunals in France and in foreign countries, namely, those of M. Mounier, by a Swiss tribunal. All these documents have been printed, as well as the deliberations of the châtelet, the account rendered to the assembly, the report of its committee, and the debates which the latter occasioned.

Althought it be evident, as I have before stated, that in several of those documents party spirit had even led to a positive alteration of fact, the result

of the investigations promoted by the chiefs of the capital, confirms still further what no person at the time would have conceived it possible to deny,—that the safety of the king, queen, and royal family, was entirely owing to the Parisian national guard and its general.*

Amongst the false assertions that have been propagated concerning that deplorable day, which did not need, in truth, any aggravation, I shall relate but one: it was said that the heads of two unfortunate

* Extract from the requisition of the king's attorney at Châtelet, in consequence of the denunciation of attempts on the 6th of October, made before that magistrate by the commons of Paris, the 23rd of November:—

"1st December, 1789.—It is stated, in the denunciation of the syndic attorney of the commons, that the Paris national troops no sooner arrived at Versailles than they were placed in the exterior of the palace, in the posts that the king had ordered should be confided to them, and that they occupied themselves with maintaining order; that everything appeared quiet when, on that said day, 6th of October, between five and six o'clock in the morning, a troop of armed bandits, who, excited by clandestine manœuvres, had mingled and confounded themselves with the citizens, accompanied by some women, and men disguised as women, made, by the internal passages of the garden, a sudden irruption into the palace, forced their way through the gardes-du-corps placed as sentinels in the interior, burst open the doors, rushed towards the apartment of the queen, massacred some guards who were watching over her safety, and reached her apartment just as her majesty had quitted it to seek refuge with the king; that the fury of those assassins was only at length repressed by the national guards, who, apprised of that scene of carnage, flew from their exterior posts to drive them back, and snatch from their hands other gardes-du-corps, whom they were on the point of immolating.

"Under these circumstances, the king's attorney conceives that it is both his duty and avocation to take measures in consequence. He therefore demands, &c.

DE FLANDRE DE BRUNVILLE."

gardes-du-corps had been carried before the carriage of the king. While we were only thinking of saving their comrades and the royal family, it is sufficiently horrible that bandits should have escaped with the infamous trophies of their crimes; but they had arrived at the Palais-Royal, and public authority had succeeded in dispersing them before the king had even quitted Versailles.

ON THE DUKE OF ORLEANS,

AFTER THE 6TH OF OCTOBER.*

VII.

LAFAYETTE had many reasons to mistrust the agents of the Orleanist faction. They assisted him them-

* The Duke of Orleans, as he emerged from childhood, was an amiable prince; he soon became immoral and dissolute; the people were shocked by his misconduct, and accused him of being fond of money. "I would give," he said, "all public opinion for a crown piece." Some petty court intrigues had placed him in ill repute with the eldest branch of his family; he detested the queen, who, on her side, did not like him. He was unjustly accused of having failed in courage at the battle of Ouessant; that false accusation rendered his feelings still more bitter. His taste had led him to take part in the pleasures of the Prince of Wales, and it was disagreeable to him to be obliged to apply to the king for leave of absence. He once joined the opposition of the parliament, was exiled to Villers-Coterets, and solicited, with great gentleness, permission to return. He was persuaded to take part in the troubles that were at that time preparing; he was induced to do so rather from discontent than ambition. His fortune was enormous, and was to amount at the death of his father to twelve millions a-year. He distributed vast bounties, entered into the general states, and found himself by these means, as well as by the intrigues of his party, reinstated in popular favour; but instead of bringing himself forward during the perils of the month of July, 1789, while his bust was carried about by the people, his friends could only obtain from him one letter to the king, on the night of the 13th; and this he contradicted the next day in another letter to the minister, M. de Breteuil. From that moment, and especially after the night of the 4th of August, France obtained what she desired; but the Duke of Orleans retained both his pretensions and the natural timidity of his disposition. Lafayette, after having, on the 6th of October, saved the lives of the king, queen, their family, and the gardes-du-corps, thought he possessed

selves in becoming acquainted with their projects, and his functions of commander-in-chief enabled

some superiority over the Duke of Orleans, which he wished to employ for the interests of public order. That prince found himself obliged to take a journey to England, from whence he returned, nine months afterwards, for the famous federation of 90. We see in the memoirs of Bouillé, that the Duke of Orleans once sent Biron to make some very royalist professions. He was for a short time reconciled to the king and queen, probably at the expense of Lafayette, who had formerly defended them against him; but the insults of the courtiers not apprized of the transaction, caused the failure of the plot, and redoubled his feelings of animosity. In the winter of 1790, letters from Douai, addressed to the ministers and the committee of research, announced a conspiracy, of which the object was to place on the throne a person of importance, whose name was not mentioned. Lafayette said to the king, in presence of the queen, that the Duke of Orleans was the only prince on whom suspicion could alight: the queen rejoined, looking at him in a pointed manner, "that it was not necessary to be a prince to pretend to the crown—" Lafayette, interrupting her, replied, very coolly, "At least, Madam, I know only he who would desire it." We see, by the avowals of Brissot, that in 1791, at the famous tumult of the Champ-de-Mars against the constituent assembly and the decree for re-establishing the king after his return from Varennes, General Laclos, private secretary of the Duke of Orleans, and the chief instrument of his faction, demanded that, in the petition signed on the altar of the country, the duke should be proposed for king. Brissot and some others were of a different opinion. The Duke of Orleans was created admiral by the king in 1792; elected a member of the convention, he took the name of *Egalité*, and in spite of the entreaties of his son, who was serving with courage and patriotism in the army of the North, he voted for the death of his unfortunate cousin. The convention itself received that vote with a murmur of horror. Some intrigues were afterwards formed to place him on the throne; but the deputies, who had thought of him at first, became dissatisfied with his conduct towards themselves. His death was resolved upon. He heard his sentence with great coolness, and died with firmness, which proves that he rather failed in moral energy than physical courage.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

him to discover their intrigues. Previous to the 14th of July, he was consulted, with artful circumspection, upon the subjection of royalty. He replied, "that liberty was the sole affair that concerned him; that, since they very rationally wished to retain a king, the person bearing at present that title appeared to him better than any other."

The Duke of Orleans, on his side, had recurred to that subject, during several visits that he paid him, but always with great caution. Lafayette pretended not to understand him, although he knew his meaning perfectly well. The Duke of Orleans comprehended him also, and must have seen that he had nothing to hope from that quarter. Bailly had been likewise sounded with the same precaution, and without any better success.

After the 6th of October the dangers dreaded from the Orleanist party had passed away, but the spirit of that faction was not destroyed, and its chief possessed means of intrigue, from his fortune, connexions, and immorality of conduct, which it was important to oppose. There was but one method of proving his weakness, which was that of attacking him in person. On the 7th, Lafayette requested to see him at the house of a lady of great talent,* in which he had been in the habit of meeting that prince; and there, after a conversation, which Mirabeau called "very imperious on one side and very resigned on the other,"† it was settled that the Duke of Orleans should set out for London with a sort of mission to account for his departure; but he changed

* The Marchioness de Coigny.

† Speeches of Mirabeau, the 2d of October, 1790, against the proceeding of the châtelet, and relating to the attempts of October.

his mind that same evening, in consequence of the advice of his friends: Lafayette, to whom he announced this alteration of plan, gave him a second appointment, in the same place as the former one, exacted from him the promise of setting out in the space of twenty-four hours, and presented him, in consequence of this determination, to the king, who was much astonished, especially when, the Duke of Orleans having assured him "that he would endeavour to discover at London the authors of these troubles," Lafayette replied, "You are more interested than any other person, for no one is so much compromised as yourself." During the night, the Duke of Orleans again thought better of it, and Mirabeau having undertaken to denounce to the national assembly the conduct of Lafayette, and the orders he had taken upon himself to give to a representative of the people, the former wrote at break of day that he should not depart. A third meeting was immediately appointed by Lafayette at the minister of foreign affairs, when the Duke of Orleans was to receive his instructions. "My enemies pretend," said the prince, "that you have proofs against me."—"They must be rather mine who assert it," replied Lafayette. "If I were able to produce proofs against you, I should already have had you arrested;" and he frankly declared that he was searching for proofs everywhere. The result of the conversation was, that the Duke of Orleans set out, after having written to the president of the assembly a letter, which cancelled beforehand the whole project of denunciation. Many persons have doubtless not forgotten the expressions employed by Mirabeau to characterize the conduct of this prince.

MIRABEAU.*

VIII.

MIRABEAU was such an important person in the revolution, that not to speak of him would appear like affectation. In the admirable writings and speeches, of which his friends have made a collection, sufficient matter may be found to compose his eulogium. Here is a short notice of this very extraordinary character:—

Mirabeau was born with most vehement passions; the harshness of his father, which was somewhat caused, perhaps, by jealousy,—the diabolical dissensions of his parents, who made him their witness, and even instrument,—contributed much towards vitiating his heart, and rendering him callous to all shame for his misconduct. He was not naturally wicked, but he was capable of committing wicked actions to satisfy his passions or his self-love; his feelings were even sometimes good, and, what may appear strange, he occasionally boasted that he had done more harm than he had ever been reproached with. His intention was to be elected by the nobility, according to the mode agreed upon by all the

* The notes relating to the Duke of Orleans, those we give on Mirabeau, and the documents concerning MM. de Lameth and their friends, are, occasionally, previous to the events related in the collection of speeches of General Lafayette; but we thought we ought to insert them here, because some explanations may be found which are necessary to comprehend the state of parties after the 6th of October, and the new relations existing between him and several men who acted an important part in the revolution of 1789.

members of a patriotic society, held at the house of Adrian Duport,* of which he was a member. He lost the election of the nobility, and caused himself to be elected by the *tiers*.

Two days before his motion of the 8th of July, for sending away the troops, he made against M. Necker an unfounded denunciation.† M. Necker had it contradicted by a letter from Mr. Jefferson to

* From a letter of Mirabeau, addressed to the Duke de Lauzun, the second meeting of that society took place the 10th of November, 1788, at M. Duport's house.—(Vol. v. p. 199, of *the Memoirs of Mirabeau*, published by M. Lucas Montigny.)

† The *Memoirs of Mirabeau*, recently published by M. Lucas Montigny, inform us by letters, or by positive facts, of the causes of this denunciation.—(Vol. iv. p. 185.) Mirabeau, after having written, in 1785, several works relating to the finances under the guidance of M. de Calonne, had twice attacked the administration of M. Necker, in letters, printed at the time of the first assembly of notables. To enter into the general states, Mirabeau, at a later period, depended on the private support of M. de Montmorin, and, on the intervention of that minister, with M. Necker himself. (See the letter of Mirabeau to his father, the 16th of November, 1788, vol. v. p. 201.) This hope was not realized, and he again published against the controller-general a correspondence with Cerutti, who complained of that proceeding in the *Journal de Paris*. The speech of M. Necker upon the opening of the general states, was also keenly criticised in the second number of a paper that Mirabeau continued, under the form of *Letters to his Constituents*. Some days afterwards, however, Mirabeau had recourse to M. Malouet to obtain means of coming to an understanding with M. de Montmorin, and with M. Necker, whose reception afterwards displeased him.—(Vol. vi. p. 60.) The 6th of July, the assembly was discussing a report made in the name of its committee of subsistences, when Mirabeau accused M. Necker of having refused the proposals of Mr. Jefferson, minister of the United States, for importing grain at a very low rate: but the 8th, he made a recantation, by deposing himself, on the desk, the letter of Mr. Jefferson to General Lafayette, which proved that, for several months past, M. Necker had endeavoured to encourage the importation of grain and flour from the United States.

Lafayette, whom the friends of the minister urged to signalize this improper act of Mirabeau, who was already much suspected by the commons from his reputation for immorality of conduct. Lafayette, who attached much more importance to the motion of the day than to the quarrel of M. Necker, proposed to Mirabeau to retract, himself, that accusation. The latter thanked him warmly for the advice, and his frank recantation obtained for him general approbation. In spite, however, of the eloquence of his speech upon sending away the troops, that motion was to be submitted to the examination of the committees, when Barnave, and some other deputies, said earnestly to Lafayette, that as he had not yet spoken in the hall of commons, he would have a better chance than any other person of supporting successfully the motion. Lafayette spoke against the proposed delay, and obtained an immediate and favourable verdict.

When the address was drawn up, Mirabeau brought it to Lafayette's house, where some deputies were assembled, and it was on that evening that he uttered the significant words that alarmed so exceedingly Mounier.* We perceive by the letters of Malouet, a confirmation of what we already knew, that the ministry, by refusing to meet the advances of Mirabeau, had thrown him into the Orleanist party. He sounded Lafayette at the time, but that idea was immediately rejected, and Mirabeau never spoke to him on the subject afterwards.

We have given some details on the proceedings

* Mounier has stated that Mirabeau, previous to the removal of the assembly to Paris, said to him before witnesses, "What does it signify to you whether the king be called Louis or Philip?" But Mirabeau, it is true, might only wish to amuse himself by alarming Malouet.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

of the châtelet against the authors of the attempts of the 8th of October. Several depositions of deputies, known to be men of integrity, in spite of their political opinions, were, without foundation, as far as related to Mirabeau, and those false statements were what most contributed to the failure of the proceeding.*

But it was the duty of Lafayette, Bailly, and the commons of Paris, to institute an inquiry which would allow each person to declare what he had seen, and deprive all parties of the right of saying that any testimonies had been withheld. The Jacobin and Orleanist factions endeavoured to defend the accused, especially M. d'Orleans, while the aristocratical faction only sought to criminate the whole revolutionary party. Bailly and Lafayette, after having done all they could to collect proofs, allowed justice to have its course. The commons did the same; Brissot was at that time a member of the committee of police, called *of research*, with Agier, Houdard, and Garand de Coulon.

After the 6th of October, Mirabeau wished that the Duke of Orleans should remain, and promised, himself, to denounce Lafayette, to whom he told his project at the time, and afterwards, the principal points of the vehement speech he intended to pro-

* A deputation of the châtelet laid before the assembly, the 7th of August, 1790, the judicial proceedings, declaring, without any definite conclusions, that several depositions criminated the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau.

The 31st of August, the assembly decided that the proceedings should be printed, and that a committee should examine the charges against the two deputies. The committee made its report the 30th of September, and declared there was no cause for their accusation. This conclusion was adopted by the assembly after the discussion of the 2d of October, and the speech, already referred to, which Mirabeau delivered.

nounce on that subject, representing him as having forced the Count d'Artois, and the princes of the houses of Condé and Conti, to take flight; of having taken possession, on the 6th of October, of the king, the queen, their children, and Monsieur; and of having banished, in short, the Orleans branch, doubtless with ambitious views, that might easily be guessed, &c. But on his road to Versailles, Mirabeau met on the bridge of Sevres with an aide-de-camp of Lafayette, who was returning to Paris with the passport given to the duke by the assembly, and on his arrival he received the note that is so well known.

When Mirabeau quitted the Orleanist party, his first project was to demand the entrance of the council for Monsieur, who would have been under his guidance, in the same manner that Gaston had be enunder the guidance of the Cardinal de Retz. An ancient intendant, M. de Meilhan,* who had at that time some share in the confidence of Monsieur, united those two names in plans, which, from his long acquaintance with Lafayette, he was induced to reveal to him. Other personages successively sounded Lafayette on this intrigue. At a later date, in the affair of Favras, Mirabeau had retained his intimacy at the Luxembourg; but as he perceived that Monsieur was a still more miserable tool than Gaston, he did not fail in attaching himself to Lafayette, with whom he held some conferences.†

The first conference was held at Passy, while the

* M. Sénac de Meilhan, intendant of Provence and Hainaut, died at Vienna in 1803.

† See Appendix, Nos. 2 and 3, two Memoirs of Mirabeau; the one addressed to General Lafayette, the 10th and 20th of October, 1789, the other on a project relating to Monsieur.

assembly was still at Versailles.* It was then that Lafayette declared, that if they wished to continue to hold any relations with him, they must renounce the intention of prosecuting the queen.† Mirabeau replied, "Well, general, since you will have it so, let her live! An humiliated queen may be useful; but a beheaded queen can only serve for the composition of some bad tragedies by poor Guibert."‡ This is one of those sentences that Mirabeau uttered to pass for worse than he was in reality; but it was repeated to the queen, by whom Lafayette was much surprised at hearing it quoted some months afterwards. This anecdote did not prevent the relation that subsisted at a later period between that princess and Mirabeau. Some time before her death, the latter, in a conversation at Emery's, which Bouillé mentions,§ wished to stipulate for the interests of

* "The appointment took place at Passy, at the house of Madame d'Aragon, the eldest of the nieces of Mirabeau. The two parties assembled there: Alexander Lameth, with his friends, and Laborde de Méréville: Lafayette came on his side with Latour Maubourg."—(History of the Constituent Assembly, by M. Alex. Lameth, vol. i. p. 181.)

† In the meeting of the 5th of October, a few days before that conference, Mirabeau, alluding to the queen, declared that he considered a denunciation of Pétion against the gardes-du-corps as very impolitic; but that, if they persisted in demanding it, he was ready to supply every detail and sign it, *provided the assembly should declare that the person alone of the king was inviolable*, and that the other individuals of the state, *whoever they might be*, were all equally subjects, and responsible before the law."

‡ The Count de Guibert, field-marshal, author of some tragedies, *Anne de Boulen*, *La Mort des Gracques*, *Le Connétable de Bourbon*, and several works upon the military art, died in 1790.

§ This conversation took place at the beginning of February, 1791. M. de Bouillé alluded to it in the following manner (p. 198):—"The next day, 6th of February, the Count de la Mark arrived at Metz, and delivered to me a letter from the

the queen. The general smiled, and recalled to him what had taken place between them, at their meeting after the 6th of October.

From that first conference until federation, Mirabeau often saw Lafayette, and kept up with him frequent relations, which were occasionally, however, interrupted by mutual coldness.

Lafayette did not conceal from Mirabeau the dissatisfaction he felt at the immorality of his conduct. In spite of the pleasure he derived from his conversation, and the admiration with which his sublime talents inspired him, he could not help expressing a want of esteem that deeply mortified Mirabeau. The latter wished to preside for the federation, the constituent assembly, who were unfavourable to him in this respect. Lafayette, without opposing his being president on another occasion, wished for the presidency of a virtuous patriot at the present moment, and frankly said so.

The Jacobin chiefs, after having exclaimed against the idea of electing Mirabeau to a presidency, drew him towards their own party, by naming him, themselves, some time after, president of their club.*

king: he assured me that Mirabeau was completely in the interest of the king; that he should have been so long ago but for the opposition offered by M. Necker; he did not conceal from me that the king had given him lately six hundred thousand livres; that he paid him fifty thousand a month; he added, that Mirabeau was somewhat alarmed at my connexion with Lafayette, whom he considered as one of the men most opposed to the execution of his projects. (p. 211.) I knew that the day after the departure of the Count de la Mark for Metz, Lafayette had had a conversation of three hours with Mirabeau."—(Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé, edition of MM. Bouille and Barrière, 1821.)

* He caused or allowed himself to be named, the 30th of November, 1790, president of the society of *the Friends of the Constitution*."—(Vol. viii. p. 214, of the Memoirs of Mirabeau.)

Mirabeau committed a great fault by joining them: it can scarcely be conceived how he could act in such a manner, now that his gigantic reputation alone remains to us; but at that period, Mirabeau was a man ever listened to with distrust when his private interest was concerned.

He expressed the wish of being introduced to M. de Montmorin, and Lafayette conducted him to his house. It was there, while declaring that full latitude must be granted him, and that no anxiety need be felt on account of his digressions, that he compared the assembly to "an unbroken ass, that could only be ridden with great precaution."

Mirabeau was exceedingly desirous of entering the council and paying his own debts. He had the imprudence of announcing to his creditors that M. de Lafayette was going to appoint him minister. The embassy of Constantinople, which was a lucrative one, had been proposed to him; but he wished for that of England. He said, however, that he would accept the embassy of Constantinople, in a letter that some persons have seen since his death, and in which, after speaking of some money received from the king, he expressed to Lafayette his wish of receiving more to pay his creditors.* That letter of four pages, written in his own hand as a guarantee of his fidelity, was burnt during the time

* "We have seen a letter of the 1st of December, 1789, addressed to General Lafayette, in which Mirabeau acknowledged that it would be, perhaps, difficult for him to resist *always* the seduction of the recollections of the East, of Asia Minor, and of the Bosphorus; the more so as new circumstances and new political relations, gave great importance to such a mission, and would yield opportunities of rendering eminent services."—(Vol. vii. p. 282, of the Memoirs published by M. Lucas Montigny.)—See same page, in confirmation, a letter of the 3rd of December, 1789.

of terror; it did not prevent Mirabeau from declaring himself again the enemy of Lafayette. This act may be deemed a trait of genius, for it gave its author the right of attacking the general, while it enchained the latter by feelings of delicacy.

The acquaintance of Mirabeau with Montmorin was renewed in a more intimate manner, and in conferences to which Lafayette remained a stranger; an aide-de-camp of Lafayette's, named Julien, was admitted to them, the only one, during the revolution, who merited that reproach.

When Mirabeau was consulted by the court, he kept himself at a still greater distance from Lafayette. The king and queen proposed to the latter to enter into an understanding with Mirabeau; but the proposal was made in a tone that would have united them on a very different footing from that of their former acquaintance. It was undoubtedly a snare prepared for Lafayette, for in their new projects he could only have proved injurious to them. Whatever may have been the motive, he rejected the proposal immediately, and it was never mentioned to him again. It appears even that the king dared not send him the letter which had been found in the iron cupboard.*

The Count de la Mark,† the intimate friend of

* See, Appendix, No. 4, of this volume, the article upon the iron cupboard here alluded to. It is accompanied by the following note of General Lafayette: "This letter, without any date, and different from my usual relations with the king, has been evidently dictated by Mirabeau, after he had sold himself to the court. They feared my dislike to his immorality, and my suspicions of the intrigue with Bouillé; it seems that, upon second thoughts, this step was not considered as likely to dispel my objections, since the letter, written in the king's own hand, remained in his cupboard."

† The Count de la Mark, since Prince d'Arenberg, testa-

Mirabeau, used to say, "He but makes himself paid to be of his own opinion." This was true, to a certain point.* Mirabeau was not inaccessible to money; but no money would have induced him to support an opinion that would have annihilated liberty or brought disgrace upon his own talents.

We perceive in the Memoirs of Bouillé, and in some notes appertaining to that work, what was the connexion of Mirabeau with the court, and what were his own private views. He held a correspondence with the departments. He opposed, on one side, at the Jacobins, the MM. de Lameth, with whom he had frequently quarrelled and been reconciled, and on the other side, he endeavoured to throw blame on Lafayette, and weaken his influence.† When forming his plans, his intention was to lean for support on M. de Bouillé and the troops of Metz. His death‡ bequeathed to the court some undigested ideas, of which it made a most absurd application.

mentary executor of Mirabeau, and depositary of his papers, died at Brussels in 1833.

* See, in Appendix, No. 5, the copy of a treaty of Mirabeau with Monsieur, and our observations on that article.

† See, Appendix, No. 6, in a letter to M. de Laporte, intendant of the civil list, the account of a conversation with Mirabeau. (No. 219, iron cupboard.)

‡ The 2nd of April, 1791.

ON THE

MESSRS. DE LAMETH & THEIR FRIENDS.

IX.

PARLIAMENTARY oppositions, an ardent desire for liberty, and the same contempt for the dangers of the revolution, had closely united Lafayette and Adrien Duport, a counsellor of the parliament of Paris, of whom the Cardinal de Brienne used to say, "He is the most ungovernable of magistrates." At the opening of the states-general, Lafayette became intimate with young Barnave, the disciple and friend of Mounier, and with Alexandre de Lameth, whom he had frequently met, without any degree of intimacy subsisting between them, but who was at that time distinguished by his active and influential zeal.

A short time after, Barnave and Duport, gradually detaching themselves, the one from Mounier, the other from Lafayette, became more closely united to M. de Lameth than to their former friends; the three were, however, on the 14th of July, very intimate colleagues of La Rochefoucauld, Lafayette, and Latour Maubourg. That connexion subsisted until the 6th of October, and although the former feared that the three latter would terminate too speedily the revolution, it was only at that October period that their intimacy ceased, for three reasons: First, M. de Lameth, his brother, and their friends, had disapproved of the expulsion of M. d'Orleans. Second, Lafayette believed, since the 15th of July, that it was necessary to re-establish public order,

and everything proved to him that those gentlemen persisted in wishing for disorder, to *plough deep*, as Duport expressed it. Third, the Messieurs de Lameth wished also for a change in the ministry. But as M. Necker, who still possessed the confidence of the public, above all as regarded the finances, would in that case have given his dismissal, Lafayette determined not to satisfy their wishes in that last respect, and was encouraged in this intention by Emery, who, although designated as minister in their list, advised the general not to have anything to do with such changes.* This was the foundation of the friendship that existed between him and Lafayette.

Mirabeau had spoken imprudently of his own private wishes. The keeper of the seals, a very shrewd man, was clever enough to alarm the probity of Lanjuinais, and to induce him to bring forward his motion of the 7th of November.† Mirabeau proved, by his answer, that he was not mistaken as to the real aim of that motion; but he was mistaken

* These changes were proposed at the first meeting of Passy, when the majority, according to M. Alexandre de Lameth, demanded especially a new ministry. "The attention turned on the Duke de La Rochefoucauld, on Thouret, Emery, M. de Champagny for the navy, the Marquis de Lacoste for foreign affairs, and on some others whose names have escaped my memory."—(Vol. 1, p. 184, of the History of the Constituent Assembly, by M. Alex. de Lameth.)

† The keeper of the seals was M. Champion de Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux, afterwards of Aix; died in 1810. M. Lanjuinais proposed the following decree: "The representatives of the nation cannot, during the legislation of which they are members, nor even during the three following years, obtain from the executive power any place, pension, promotion, favour, &c." It was decreed on the same day "that no member of the assembly could accept any place in the ministry during the whole duration of the session."

respecting its instigator, and believed that Lafayette was desirous of getting rid of him; and this he never pardoned.

After the refusal of Lafayette to contribute to the dismissal of M. Necker, and various other subjects of mutual discontent, the Messieurs de Lameth, thinking only of opposing, with every means in their power, the general, and the patriots who thought as he did, organized that celebrated club of the Jacobins, of which the prime object of the institution was to lessen his influence with the national guards, and the municipalities of France, and to establish, in direct opposition to each civil and military corps, intended for the preservation of legal order, a society of informers and disorganizers.

Such was the principal bearing of the plan: it was managed by a committee from each club, who all finally referred to the Messieurs de Lameth; amongst the measures of detail they employed, we need only quote the one termed by themselves, the *sabbat*, that is to say, an association of ten men devoted to them, who received the order of every day, which each one was to deliver afterwards to ten men belonging to the various battalions of Paris, so that all the battalions and sections received at the same time the same proposal for a tumult, the same denunciation against the constituted authorities, the president of the departments, the mayor, and the commander-in-chief.

FROM

OCTOBER, 1789, UNTIL FEBRUARY, 1790.*

X.

When the king, after the events of 6th October, established himself with his family in the capital, he was soon afterwards followed by the national assembly, for whom a hall was prepared at the bishoprick, until the one at the *Manège* should be in readiness to receive them. It was there, on the 19th October, (the anniversary of the capitulation of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, 1781,) that the mayor and the commander-in-chief, with a deputation from the commons, presented themselves before the bar of the assembly to offer them their respectful compliments. The papers of that period give an account of the applauses with which they were received, of the speech of M. Fréteau, president of the assembly, and of the flattering expressions with which were honoured, in the name of the representatives of the nation, the two military and civil chiefs of the capital. "M. de Mirabeau," says the *Journal de Paris*, "did not forestall, but merely expressed, the wishes of the assembly. There was no deliberation, but only acclamations, on the subject. It was scarcely possible to hear the thanks by which the mayor

* Sequel to the collection made in 1829, and entitled, "Collection of several Speeches."

and the commander of the national militia replied to the thanks of their country."

Bailly and Lafayette repaid to the commons and the national guard the praises they received from the assembly.

We will give, in this place, the speech of Mirabeau, because he paints eloquently the situation of the popular chiefs under those great circumstances, and the right they had to the support of the true friends of liberty.

"GENTLEMEN,—Is not this, our first meeting in the capital, the most proper one we could select to fulfil an imperious act of justice, and, I may add, a duty of feeling also?

"Two of our colleagues, you are aware, have been called upon by the public voice to occupy the two first situations of Paris; one in the civil, the other in the military career. I detest the tone of eulogy, and I hope that we are approaching that period when we shall only eulogize by a simple statement of facts. With the facts in the present case you are acquainted. You know in what situations, in the midst of what difficulties, (impossible, in truth, to describe,) these virtuous citizens have been placed. Prudence does not allow me to unveil all the delicate circumstances, all the perilous hazards, all the personal dangers, all the threats, all the painful duties, attending their position, in a town of seven hundred thousand inhabitants, kept in a state of continual fermentation, after a revolution that has broken all former relations, in a time of terror and confusion, when invisible hands had destroyed abundance, and defeated secretly all the efforts of the chiefs to feed this enormous population, obliged to conquer, by their patience, the piece of bread they had already gained by their sweat.

"What an administration! What a period! when it is necessary to fear and brave all things; when tumult gives birth to tumult; when riots are produced by the very measures taken to prevent them; when moderation is incessantly requisite, and when moderation appears equivocal, timid, pusillanimous; when it is necessary to employ much force, and when force appears tyrannical; when one is besieged by a thousand counsels, and obliged to take counsel from oneself; when one is forced to dread even citizens whose intentions are pure, but whom dis-

trust, anxiety, exaggeration, render as dangerous as if they were conspirators; when one is reduced, even in difficult situations, to yield from prudence, to conduct disorder to be able to restrain it, and to undertake an occupation, glorious, it is true, but surrounded by the most alarming perils; when it is yet necessary, in the midst of such extreme difficulties, to exhibit a serene countenance, remain even calm, bring into order the most trifling things, offend no person, efface all jealousies, labour incessantly, and endeavour to please as if there were no labour in the case!

"I propose to you, gentlemen, to vote thanks to these two citizens for their extensive labours and indefatigable vigilance. It may be asserted, it is true, that the honour recoils upon ourselves, since those citizens are our colleagues. But, let us not attempt to conceal it, we shall feel a noble pride if the defenders of the country, and the supporters of liberty, be sought amongst us, if they reward our zeal by giving us the glorious preference of the most hazardous posts, of labours, of sacrifices.

"Let us not fear to testify our gratitude to our colleagues; and let us give the example to a certain class of men, who, imbued with false republican ideas, become jealous of authority the moment they have confided it to another, even when, at a stated period, they may themselves withdraw it; who neither feel security in the precautions of law nor in the virtues of individuals; who are incessantly kept in alarm by the phantoms of their imagination; who are ignorant that we confer honour on ourselves by honouring the chiefs we have selected; who are not aware that zeal for liberty must not resemble a feeling of jealousy of places and persons; who yield credit too readily to all false reports, all calumnies, all reproaches. And it is from thence that the most legitimate authority is enervated, degraded, debased; that the execution of law encounters a thousand obstacles; that distrust spreads her venom everywhere; and that, instead of presenting to view a society of citizens engaged in elevating, together, the edifice of liberty, we should but resemble mutinous slaves, who have just broken their chains, and make use of them to beat and tear others to pieces.

"I think, therefore, gentlemen, that the feeling of equity which leads us to vote thanks to our two colleagues is an indirect but efficacious invitation, a powerful recommendation, to all good citizens to unite themselves with us to enforce legitimate authority, to support it against the clamours of ignorance, of ingratitude, or sedition, to facilitate the labours of the chiefs, their necessary inspection, obedience to the laws, rules, disci-

pline, moderation, all those virtues that spring from liberty. I think, in short, that this act of thanks will prove to the inhabitants of the capital that we know how to honour, in the magistrates they have appointed, their own work, and to respect them in the selection they have made. We shall unite in these thanks the brave militia, whose intrepid patriotism has governed ministerial despotism, the representatives of the commons, and the committees of the districts, whose civic labours have rendered so many services that may be truly termed national."

The 21st October, the mayor, and a deputation from the commons, announced to the national assembly that a baker had just been assassinated in a popular riot, and demanded that martial law should immediately be established.

During that riot, which had been excited against the baker François, another one broke out in the faubourg Saint Antoine, of which the object was to assemble in the faubourg Saint Marceau for the reduction of the price of bread, and to break into convents on pretence of seizing guns.

The national guard, while quelling those seditions, arrested the assassin of the baker, and the principal instigator of the riot of the faubourg. Both were judged and hung the next day. The assembly of the representatives of the commons passed a new decision against plots and conspiracies that was contrary to the establishment of public order; the national assembly decreed martial law. The dread of a greater fermentation was so great, that the injunction was renewed to the inhabitants of Paris to light, until fresh orders were given, all their doors and first stories: but the devoted zeal of the soldier-citizens repressed those elements of sedition.

We see, by a speech of the commander-in-chief, addressed to the officers of the national guard assembled at his house, that he did not endeavour to

become popular by flattery; and we also find in it the origin of those companies of chasseurs and grenadiers who voluntarily devoted themselves to a service of every day, and of all hours, which could not accord with the occupations of the greater number of the national guard, although the latter, during the first years of the revolution, made admirable sacrifices of their time and pecuniary interest.

"We shall be lost," said he to an assembly of officers, "if the service continues to be performed in such an inexact manner. We are the only soldiers of the revolution; we alone must defend the royal family from every danger; we alone must establish the liberty of the representatives of the nation; we are the only guardians of the public treasure. France, nay, all Europe, have their eyes fixed on the Parisians. One movement in Paris, one blow given from our negligence to those sacred persons, may dishonour us for ever, and load us with the detestation of the provinces. I demand therefore, gentlemen, in the name of our country, that our citizen troops should bind themselves to me in a still more solemn manner, by the vow of sacrificing even their private interests to an exact and assiduous service, so necessary under present circumstances.

"Propose to your battalions that new oath, which I beg you only to allow them to pronounce after the most mature reflection. If it be not possible for the whole body to enter into such an engagement, we must take measures to form, by battalions, a company of grenadiers, and one of chasseurs; but let that little band of the soldiers of the constitution swear, when forming themselves, to make every personal sacrifice for the space of four months; to be on foot every day, at all hours, if public safety require it. I should prefer a small number of men, whom I could summon round me at any moment, to a large number, whom it would be impossible to collect.

"I request you, nevertheless, gentlemen, to observe, that I prescribe nothing to you myself. I leave all things to your own prudence, and I beg you to inform me, in three or four days, with the result of your respective deliberations, that I may take measures in consequence. Reflect, gentlemen, upon our really alarming situation, from the inexact service of which I regret to accuse a large number of soldier-citizens.

"My own head is of little value; but I swear to defend the French constitution, for which we are now labouring, and I shall attach more importance to that oath than to my life."

Were these observations, too severe perhaps in the midst of so many exertions and sacrifices, ill received by the national guards? No, undoubtedly; and the measure taken by the battalion of Saint Roch, and followed by all the others, sufficiently proves the truth of this assertion. The 24th of October, the commander of the above-named battalion came, with a numerous deputation, to offer Lafayette, in the name of more than four hundred armed citizens, whose names were inscribed at the close of the same address, a solemn engagement, expressed in these terms: "We swear to you to perform our service with exactness, not to take advantage of the provisional order that allows forty-seven days of repose for one day of active service, only to lay down our arms when you command us to do so, and tell us that the great work of our liberty is completely achieved.

The affection of the national guard for its chief was so great that it even occasioned acts of violence towards some declaimers, who were vociferating against him in the public places. An order of the day was necessary to repress that excessive zeal in his defence.

"The commander-in-chief learns, with deep regret, that some persons, wearing the uniform of the national guard, allow themselves, in public places, acts of violence, that may have been attributed to their attachment to himself. I declare that he only acknowledges for his friends the friends of liberty and order, and that he recommends the troops on guard, and the patrols, to put in execution the orders they have received, or may receive, from the civil power."

(1790.)—The excitement occasioned by the volcano of that great revolutionary movement was not, as we have already said, the sole cause of a disorder, which was systematically provoked by that party, who, taking advantage of the passions of the moment,

and awakening the spirit of pillage, wished, as they have boasted since, to prevent the re-organization of France, destroy, and even render liberty unpopular by the excesses committed by licence. They endeavoured, amongst other means, to excite a spirit of sedition in the six thousand paid troops who formed the centre company of each battalion of the national guards.

The following extract of the deliberations of the general assembly of the representatives of the commons, (January 12, 1790,) mentions an attempt of the kind :—

"The commander-in-chief has declared that, for some time since, attempts have been renewed in Paris to disturb public tranquillity ; that the right feelings of the citizens, especially in the faubourgs, having rendered those projects fruitless, they had been made with greater success at Versailles ; that the soldier-citizens of Paris had united with their brethren in arms of that town, to restore order, which was now perfectly established.

"That the enemies of public order had made efforts to excite a tumult against the châtelet, and had, at the same time, falsely proclaimed that on that spot the national guard had been forced, but that all measures had been taken to secure the tranquillity of that tribunal, and to conciliate the invaluable rights of the public proceedings with the respect due to the law and its organs.

"The commander-in-chief has afterwards declared that, informed of the movements excited in some companies of the centre of the national guard, and, namely, of a plan concerted of assemblage at the Champs Elysées, in spite of his reiterated command, he had forbidden that the companies should be consigned, to take this opportunity of separating the good soldiers from those who were unworthy of remaining in such a distinguished body.

"That he had repaired to the Champs Elysées with a detachment of cavalry and infantry, whose conduct deserves the highest encomiums, and that more than two hundred soldiers of the centre, assembled in the most seditious manner, had been surrounded, stripped of the national dress and cockade, and conducted afterwards to the prisons of Saint Denis."

The assembly passed, in consequence, a decision,

approving of the conduct of the mayor and commander-in-chief, and prescribing severe measures for the preservation of public order.

We have slightly mentioned some proposals that were made to Lafayette by M. de Montmorin and other persons. He was equally called upon to oppose, on several occasions, a tendency of popular feeling to confer new and greater powers on him. We might repeat numerous anecdotes, which prove how unfounded was the reproach of personal ambition, which the Jacobins addressed to Lafayette. It is, however, needless to refute falsehoods which no person has believed. One of the most absurd of these inventions was, that he was ambitious of acting the part of General Monck, which no human being, perhaps, ever proclaimed more loudly his contempt for the conduct and character of Monck; and this feeling he expressed in the most energetic manner, each time that, intentionally, that personage was eulogized in his presence.

The 23rd of January, while Lafayette was presenting to the assembly of the commons the deputies of the national guard of Clermont, in Auvergne, the municipality of Paris was on the point of writing to all the municipalities of the kingdom, to propose to them to unite, under the same chief, all the citizens armed for the defence of the constitution.

" Suspend that movement which is so honourable to me," said the commander-in-chief to the abbé Fauchet, author of the motion ; " let us await with submission the decrees that will fix definitively the organization of the national guard ; let us, above all, offer no example, no pretext, no resource for ambition. As to myself," he continued, " the vote that I shall give in the midst of the national assembly, when that important point of the constitu-

tion shall be in debate, will be, that the command of two departments may never be united in the same person." *

In the situation in which Lafayette was placed, at the head of the armed force, it would have been improper for him to take too much part in the debates of the national assembly, which was engaged in a discussion relative to disorders in le Quercy, le Rouergue, le Périgord, le Bas Limousin, and la Basse Bretagne.† M. Emery proposed to the assembly that a memorial of the keeper of the seals on that deplorable affair should be sent to the com-

* In a moment of public alarm, a motion had been made at the Hotel de Ville, to decree to the commander-in-chief a sort of dictatorship. "Do you believe," he replied, "that we should make our patrols better." On the meeting of the 23rd of January, these are the observations of Camille Desmoulins in his Journal.—We may observe, that afterwards Camille Desmoulins, and at a later period the abbé Fauchet, did not less accuse Lafayette of ambition and *Cromwellism*.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

"'Did you observe M. de Lafayette?' inquired a republican, who was standing by my side. 'I watched him attentively during the motion of Fauchet, and he changed countenance.' 'It is not possible,' I replied, secretly sharing, however, his anxiety. But I had soon reason to feel perfectly reassured. M. de Lafayette spoke, at length, without any hesitation; he did not reject the proposal with the feeble accent with which Cæsar refused the diadem that Anthony offered on his knee, but reproved, with virtuous indignation, and a voice that inspired confidence, that improper motion, and the intemperate zeal of the person who proposed it; he contemned every idea of the kind, and justly obtained universal applause by protesting that, instead of being gratified by the sonorous title of commander-in-chief of all the provinces, he had long intended to bring forward a motion before the national assembly, that no individual should command at the same time the national guards of two departments." —Revolutions of France and Brabant, vol. i, p. 565.)

† These disorders were derived from various causes: the law on the organization of municipalities was beginning to be brought

mittee of constitution, and that that committee should be charged with presenting the project of a decree.—(Meeting of 16th of February.)

"The project offered to the assembly," said Lafayette, "is of the deepest importance, as well as of immediate urgency. The national assembly has expressed the regret and indignation that the laws themselves are authorized to feel, on account of the excesses which have been this day denounced.

"But those excesses have not subsided; they multiply, on the contrary, each day, to the deep regret of the friends of liberty, who foresee great danger for her,—of the friends of justice and humanity, who count each private calamity,—and of the friends of the people, who view the repose of the latter interrupted, and their daily subsistence compromised. Let me be allowed to defend that people against those who would inculpate them, and even against many of those who seek to justify them.

"The people require, above all things, liberty; but they require also peace and justice; they expect these blessings, not only at the conclusion of our labours, but also from provisional decrees; they expect them from the zeal of the civil and municipal officers, who, if they prefer popularity to their duties, become unworthy of obtaining it; they expect them also from the energy of the executive power, which must be no longer sought for under ruins, but there, where it really exists, in the

into execution; but parties disputed with violence upon the power of the commons, and the difficulties of subsistences had added to several other political embarrassments; after the decrees of the 4th of August, the rights of feudal origin had become the subject of the most serious contests; in some places armed bands were burning the castles and title deeds; in other places, the proprietors multiplied prosecutions for rents that had been long unpaid; every day gave birth to a number of trials and tumults. The various committees of the national assembly were employed in seeking means of putting an end to these evils; the feudal committee especially was charged with distinguishing rights that could be purchased from those that were abolished without indemnity; but before they could obtain legislative discussions upon these subjects, several federations were spontaneously formed in the provinces, for the defence of the constitution, of order, and of property.

constitution. It is by and for that constitution that it must act with vigour to re-establish public order, without which liberty can neither yield happiness nor security. M. Emery has made us feel the full importance of the subject now submitted to our discussion; but with its importance, we must also consider its extreme urgency. I agree with him that the committee of the constitution should present a project of decree, but, I add, that they should present it to-morrow."

It was decided that a law should be passed to stop the disorders of the provinces. A first project, which had been read the 20th of February, was replaced at the same meeting by a second, in the name of the committee of the constitution. Lafayette, without entering into all the bearings of the question in debate, of which the adjournment was demanded, spoke to this effect:—

"The troubles excited in the provinces have alarmed your patriotism, your justice, your humanity. I did intend speaking on the project of law now brought before you; several modifications have been proposed; I shall content myself with saying, that the revolution having been achieved, it is only at present requisite to establish the constitution. Disorder was necessary to make the revolution, and in that case, *insurrection was the most sacred duty; but for the constitution, it is necessary that order should be supported, that persons should be secure, that that new constitution itself should be loved, and that public power should acquire force and energy.* I shall anxiously await the debate of Monday, which will, I trust, be the last; for the evil is a pressing one, and I think that all the members who have formed projects should publish them or bring them before the committee of the constitution."

Lafayette closed that speech by demanding, as one of the measures most likely to bring back tranquillity, a speedy report of the debate of the feudal committee.

The 22nd, the last day of that long and painful debate, Mirabeau proposed, for the re-establishment of the laws, ten additional articles to the martial law and the achievement of the constitution; the

Duke d'Aiguillon was of opinion that a decree on the feudal rights, and a law on the troubles, should be sent together to the provinces:

"In the midst of all the discussions to which I have just listened," said Lafayette, "one great truth has struck my ear; it is necessary to accelerate the work of the constitution. Yes, gentlemen, that is the way of averting disorders, of dispensing everywhere tranquillity and happiness; it is the only way of replying to the urgent wishes of the people, and satisfying all their interests. I only consider the present decree as a provisional remedy; but when I agree with the Duke d'Aiguillon, that the exertions of the feudal committee are a means of bringing back tranquillity, and that they ought to be immediately decreed, I shall observe, that it would be prolonging our labours to abandon a debate, almost completed, to turn to another subject, and recur afterwards to this. I think, therefore, that we ought first to terminate the subject now engaging our attention, which should be immediately followed by the report of the feudal committee."

The right side of the chamber employed the tactics it has but too frequently had recourse to in case of any diversity of opinion in the popular party: this was, to support the most moderate measure proposed, and amend it in such a manner as to change its very nature, and deprive it of several votes on the left side. The friends of the public were on this occasion ill supported by M. de Cazalès and his friends, who proposed, at the meeting of the 20th of February, to invest the king for the space of three months with the dictatorship.* In spite of

* "My redoubled efforts during the seven days in which this affair was discussed, and the kind attention with which I was listened to, induced me to hope that I had some influence respecting the measures adopted in consequence of the disorders of which we had received the painful accounts. Why have the constitutional enemies of anarchy been too often defeated in their efforts, by the provocations, not only imprudent, but that might often appear premeditated, on the part of those most

this incident, the assembly voted, the 23d of February, a law, which secured the publicity of its decrees, authorized the magistrates to proclaim, in case of seditious assemblages, martial law; ordered the municipalities to assist each other with armed force, and, in case of refusal, established the responsibility of the corporations for all the damages they might have prevented, reserving the right of proceeding against the authors of assemblages after the decision of the tribunals.

ON THE RIGHT OF INSURRECTION.

THE speech has been misrepresented in which Lafayette opposed, on that occasion, to the duty of insurrection against despotism, the duty of religious obedience to a free government; and yet from the day in which the revolution gave him the command of Paris until that of his proscription, there has not been one single insurrectional movement that has not taken place, in spite of his exertions, and even against his interest. His popularity had the peculiar stamp of being both greater and more durable than

interested in supporting our exertions for the security of persons and property? One might be tempted to say, that a certain class of people considered as the greatest of all evils a revolution that only destroyed privileges, only wounded vanity; one might be tempted to say, that universal benedictions would have rendered that revolution more insupportable to a portion of its enemies than could be the detestable results of its excesses and crimes. I am far from accusing any of my colleagues belonging to that party of having harboured such sentiments; I may also add, that neither they nor the most exaggerated on the other side of the question foresaw, at that time, the great calamities that ensued."—(Note of General Lafayette.)

any other person's, because it was constantly employed to preserve public order, and often opposed to the effervescence of the passions of the day.

The isolated maxim, that insurrection is the most sacred of duties, has been attributed for more than twenty-five years to Lafayette, not only by his enemies, who first gave utterance to it, but afterwards by a portion of the public. People have not reflected how completely such a vague assertion was in direct contradiction to the conduct of the man who had so frequently defended, at the risk of his life, and who defended every day, at that period, at the head of the national guard, the lives, property, and tranquillity of the citizens.

Had he been reproached with having espoused the cause of the insurgents in America when it appeared a desperate one, with having fought for that insurrection of colonies, long before it was consecrated by the treaties of the European courts with the United States; of having provoked, by the declaration of rights of the 11th of July, the insurrection of the 14th; of having been elected its commander at that period, and of having nationalized it by the institution of national guards who rose against foreign coalitions; had a different party accused him of having risen, in 1792, against the oppression that the Jacobins exercised towards the legislative assembly and constitutional king, of having defended both, by opposing the violence of the 10th of August, to prevent, if possible, the dreadful calamities that followed; there would exist doubtless a real foundation for these various accusations.

But it was on account of one of the efforts of Lafayette to maintain legal order, and by separating one sentence from the words that followed it, that

an anarchial maxim has been substituted to one inculcating the right and duty of resistance to oppression, which is found in all the doctrines as well as in all the actions of his life. Would to God that that sacred duty of resistance to oppression had been generally exercised against the violation of the constitutional authorities in 1792, against the sanguinary tyranny of the time of terror, and against the arbitrary ambition of the imperial government!

ON THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHATELET,

AND THE

AFFAIR OF FAVRAS.

XI.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that during a revolution like that of France, in the midst of so many contending parties, conspiracies, and intrigues, there should not have been, for the first three years, a single individual punished with death for *crime of state*.

The constituent assembly, obliged to authorize, provisionally, the ancient tribunals, had entrusted to the châtelet of Paris the examinations of those kind of crimes. We must observe, that if some proceedings took place before that tribunal, and according to ancient laws, the chiefs of the revolution were not responsible for the institutions of the old government, into which they had introduced, however, the public proceedings, the communication of articles, the relation between the accused and his counsel,—in short, all the benevolent reforms of criminal jurisprudence, which, on the demand of Lafayette, in September, 1789, the town of Paris solicited and obtained from the constituent assembly still holding its meetings at Versailles.

It was with the new guarantees, consecrated by the decree of the 9th of October,* that the Baron

* The article 28th of the decree of the 9th of October, 1789, maintained the ordinance of 1670, the edicts, declarations, and

de Besenval, the Prince de Lambesc, the unfortunate Favras, all political and other prisoners, were judged, until the establishment of the revolutionary tribunals, in which they dared not suppress altogether publicity, and which possessed at least the advantage of rendering public the full infamy of the judgments.

We may observe, also, that the condemnation of Favras, and the acquittal of the Baron de Besenval, took place at the same period and before the same tribunal.

The Baron de Besenval, born in Switzerland, commanded, at the Champ de Mars, the foreign division, intended to suppress the assemblages of citizens yet unarmed. There had been found in the pocket of the governor of the Bastile an order, signed by the baron, to fire upon the people, and there existed a decree of the 13th of July, which established the responsibility of all the agents of executive power. M. de Besenval had been arrested while endeavouring to reach Switzerland; he had been denounced by the town of Paris, and the national assembly had brought him to judgment. His lawyers represented that it was in the order of possibilities that, from the interval of the 13th to the 14th of July, he should be ignorant of the decrees of the assembly; that, holding his command from the king, he believed himself responsible towards him alone; and that, in short, the orders he had given related to measures of defence, not attack.

regulations concerning criminal matters, in all that was not contrary to the reforms then adopted. The decrees of the 23d and of the 30th of April, of the 24th of August, 1790, of the 16th of September, 1791, continued the reformation of the criminal jurisprudence, which was interrupted, at a later period, by the revolutionary laws.

The châtelet deemed this mode of defence sufficient, and the same day of his acquittal the Baron de Besenval returned quietly to his own house, followed the court until the illness of which he died, and loudly proclaimed himself an aristocrat; but he always added that, at the time of his arrestation, he owed his life to Lafayette, and that the national guard and its chief deserved his eternal gratitude, from the care they had taken of his safety.*

M. de Lambesc, who had become the *scarecrow* of the people, judged by contumacy, was equally acquitted.

The sentence of Favras was pronounced by the same judges, known to be anti-revolutionary, but accustomed to the regular application of the laws. The first account of his conspiracy had been given to Bailly, Lafayette, and a member of the committee of research of the town, named Houdart.†

* See vol. ii. p. 374 of the "Memoires du Baron de Besenval," edition de MM. Berville et Barrière, and in the *Moniteur* of the 4th of January, 1790, the following passage from the pleadings of M. de Sèze:—"The Baron de Besenval is no longer accused by opinion, and all citizens will hasten at present to take his defence. But to what cause are we to attribute this almost sudden return of opinion to truth? We must not conceal it,—to the publicity of the proceedings. The public have heard the deposition of all the witnesses; all the accusations have been read to them; all the interrogations of the Baron de Besenval have taken place before them; they are as well acquainted as justice itself with all the particulars of the trial. Oh! let us render thanks to the national assembly for the noble present they have made to the French legislation. How many innocent persons have been saved beforehand by this magnificent decree!"

† The committee of research of the town, which only exercised the functions of police, must not be confounded with the committee of research of the national assembly. The former was opposed to the opinions that the assembly professed

The police, from the information it received, ordered the arrestation of Favras at the moment he was negotiating a considerable loan, by the order, and in the name, of Monsieur, brother to the king.* Favras, and an intendant of Monsieur, brought before the committee, both underwent an interrogation: the latter, as there was nothing to his charge, was set at liberty; but the former, denounced by the committee in the name of the commons, was referred to the châtelet. Lafayette was not acquainted with Favras, and only saw him once, when he was brought to the Hotel de Ville.

This affair, of which some details may appear obscure, is, for persons well versed in the subject, perfectly clear in all important points. If Favras lived, as has been stated, like an adventurer, he died like a hero, as to courage and fidelity. Monsieur, since Louis XVIII., his august accomplice, was deficient in both these qualities. The king and queen were foreign to this plot, or only knew its leading principle; they placed no confidence in their brother; the queen very justly considered him as her personal enemy. Monsieur privately and timidly took part in many intrigues, of which the aim was to gain personal influence. Mirabeau had given him the idea of attaining the presidency of the council, and that prince was not foreign to the project formed for overthrowing

and so often rendered triumphant: party spirit has, however, exaggerated the real inconveniences attending this committee, which convicted many intrigues, and was much dreaded by forgers of false paper-money. We must not less declare that the institution was a vicious one.—(Note found in the papers of General Lafayette.)

* Favras was arrested the night of the 24th December, 1789, condemned the 18th February, 1790, and executed the next day.

Bailly and Lafayette. Five or six men, of whom two or three are still living, took part in this petty scheme, from which Mirabeau appears to have withdrawn at an early period. It was he, nevertheless, who was the adviser of Monsieur respecting his conduct and speech at the Hotel de Ville ;* and what is most singular, another of his advisers was Sénac de Meilhan, a violent anti-revolutionist. Ambition deceived, on that day, the usual sagacity of Mirabeau ; for Monsieur could, in this manner, only injure himself, and throw odium on those who had the direction of his conduct.†

The project of assassinating the commander-in-chief and Bailly was not doubtful, although it has been denied by Favras. There had been also intentions of secret levies, which had even already been commenced ; of the secret loan of Monsieur ; of carrying off the king, by the aid of the horses of his own household and those of his brother : but these

* It was the 26th December, the day after the arrestation of Favras, that Monsieur delivered the speech in which he declared that "he had never spoken to M. Favras since that accused had left the Swiss guards, in 1775 ; that M. de la Châtre had pointed out that person only a fortnight ago, as being able to assist the negotiation of a loan of 2,000,000 livres, necessary to pay the debts of his household. Monsieur added, that ever since he had declared himself, at the second assembly of the notables, for the doubling of the *tiers*, he had never ceased believing that a great revolution, of which the king, from his rank and virtues, ought to be the chief, was become necessary ; and that, in short, royal authority should be the rampart of national liberty, as national liberty should be the basis of the authority of the king."

† The vote in favour of doubling the *tiers*, which is alluded to in the speech of the Hotel de Ville, but ill accords with the last project attributed to Monsieur, of bringing back *great feudality*, and with the politics of the other counter-revolutionist emigrants, that he adopted on arriving at Coblentz.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

were all disconcerted by the measures taken at the Hotel de Ville.

Lafayette sent his aide-de-camp Boinville to acquaint Monsieur with this arrestation. The first idea of the latter was to tell the aide-de-camp he had suspected that intrigue; he named even a house of the faubourg Saint Antoine. His second reflection, after having consulted his friends, was to deny the plot, and deny Favras. The queen thought, at first, that Lafayette had exacted this step; but when he replied that, far from advising it, from the little he knew on the subject, he thought it was, on the part of Monsieur, a very foolish act, she appeared satisfied.

The jury did not yet exist,* and the proof by two witnesses was at that time in full force. More had been found for the greater number of accusations, but for the project of assassination there were only two. The mayor and the commander-in-chief, to annul that part of the trial, wrote to the châtelet that one of those two witnesses was the chief denouncer of the plot. Ancient jurisprudence did not admit such a distinction; the king's attorney did not fail to become, himself, the denouncer, in case of none other being forthcoming, in matters of high treason; and besides, the committee of the town was considered as the author of the true denunciation.

The national guard watched over the safety of the accused with a zeal for which he returned public thanks in his defence.

The civil lieutenant and the king's attorney having called upon Lafayette for some details relating to

* The principle of the jury in criminal cases was only decreed the 30th April, 1790.

the service of the tribunal, he took that opportunity of saying, "God forbid that I should suspect the châtelet of Paris of being influenced by fear; but that fear would be a most superfluous piece of cowardice; for there exists no danger, and your judgment, whatever it may be, will be executed."

It appears that M. Talon, the civil lieutenant, had an interview with Favras before the interrogation of the reporter, and received from him the confession of all that had passed; but, while telling him that he could not be saved, he exhorted him to sacrifice himself with a good grace, and die without betraying his secret. Favras, however, on his road to the place of execution, asked to stop at the Hotel de Ville; no hope was given him of obtaining grace; and he only made an insignificant deposition. The commons of Paris, the mayor, and the commander-in-chief, were all foreign to these judicial transactions. The national guard maintained public order, yet it is but too true that furious applauses burst from the crowd at the moment of his execution, which took place by candle-light, after many delays on the part of the châtelet, and during the declaration. It was, perhaps, rather the accomplices than the enemies of Favras who expressed that impatient wish of beholding the death of the depositor of their secrets. To the former were attributed also, at that time, the clamours and efforts that were excited around the prison, and were repressed by the national guard.

Some months afterwards, M. de Cormeré, brother of Favras, wrote to Lafayette, whose reply was, the advice and encouragement to publish a memorial in justification of his brother, and the assurance that he should think it very natural that everything should be said of the commander-in-chief which could tend

to fulfil this object. M. de Cormeré printed the memorial;* he called several times on Lafayette, and acknowledged to him, tête-à-tête, that a conspiracy had existed, but pretended that it was different from the one of which an account had been printed; he added, that when M. de Favras was arrested, the papers of the conspiracy were found in an old cupboard, on a shelf, that no one thought of examining.

It appears that those papers, of which M. Talon took possession, and which became the cause of his intimate relations with the royal family, such as they have been since revealed, were carefully preserved by him; that his daughter inherited them, either at the period of his loss of reason or of his death; that the Duke de Rovigo was informed of them a short time before the downfal of Napoleon; but that they were reserved for Louis XVIII., to whom Madame du Cayla offered them in homage; and that they were finally burnt in one of the first conferences of that lady with the king.

* "Justification of M. de Favras, by S. F. de Mahy de Cormeré. Paris, 1791." 2 vols. in 8vo.

FROM MARCH UNTIL JULY 14, 1790.*

XII.

THE 21st of March, 1790, General Lafayette had passed a review in the Champs Elysées. An immense concourse of persons accompanied him through the Tuileries to the assembly, uttering such loud cries of affection and devotion, that some degree of alarm was excited. Several deputies left the hall. Lafayette was no sooner seated than he asked leave to speak, and seized that opportunity of making the following declaration :—

"I support the motion of M. de Menou,† and all motions that may tend to render our path more secure, calm the public anxiety, and confound calumny.

"What will, in fact, our detractors say, when the national assembly, rejecting all incidental motions, avoiding barren and stormy discussions, shall fix their duties and labours by these two words—*constitution* and *finance ?*

"*Finance*,—because, although the revolution, by restoring to the people all their rights, must secure eventually their happiness, it is nevertheless true that, at the present moment, commerce languishes, the workmen are without employment, and that, during this great revolutionary movement of public fortune, any delay must cause our ruin.

"*Constitution*,—because that word comprises all things :—a representative legislation, by which the law is framed with prudence ; judicial order, of which juries form the base ; an elective administration, subordinate, in a gradual degree, to the supreme chief ; a disciplined army, of which no improper use can be made ; a mode of education, which engraves deeply all

* Sequel of the collection, entitled, "Collection of several Speeches," &c.

† The object of this motion, which was adopted, was the establishing a complete and an uninterrupted order in the labours of the assembly.

principles, and cultivates all talents; a nation, tranquil herself while bearing the weapons of liberty; a king, invested with all the force a great monarchy requires, and with the brilliancy that suits the majesty of a great people; in a word, a firm and complete organization of government, and that distinctive definition of each separate power, which excludes alone all tyrannies.

"I must recal to the assembly that the national guards, whose zeal is as incessant as it is energetic, are impatient to find their constitutional place marked out in our decrees, and to read in them their peculiar duties; but I acknowledge that the judicial labour is more urgent, because law too often finds adversaries in its principal organs, and that factions of various kinds may yet attempt, in their guilty misconceptions, to oppose obstacles or pretences to the establishment of public order.

"And some degree of impatience may perhaps be allowable in him who, having promised the people not to flatter but defend them, has promised himself that the close of the revolution, by replacing him precisely where he was at its commencement, shall leave to him the enjoyment of his own pure recollections."

The discussions relative to ecclesiastical affairs were, generally speaking, vehement, and even stormy; the opposition sought in them a sort of protestation against the decrees of the assembly: for example, in one of those tumults excited to give an appearance of violence to the deliberations, the national guard having arrested the principal agitator, on wiping away the soot that covered his face, they discovered M. Suleau, editor of one of the anti-revolutionary papers, who acknowledged that he had quitted under that disguise the hotel of the keeper of the seals, the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

At the sitting of the 12th of April, when the assembly rejected the motion for voting that the catholic religion should be the only one of which the public worship was authorized in France, Lafayette thought proper to increase the guard of the assembly, and to watch more carefully than usual, to preserve from insults the members on the right

side, whose violent expressions might excite popular displeasure; a precaution which M. de Montlosier, in his memoirs, acknowledges with all the loyalty of his character.

The commander-in-chief was not less, on that occasion, exposed to many reproaches and severe attacks. M. de Foucault made a motion that not one armed man should be found within at least three leagues of the place of deliberation. Lafayette replied:—

"Some persons having expressed to the Mayor of Paris some anxiety respecting the tranquillity of the capital,—an anxiety that neither he nor I conceive well-founded,—he has thought proper, however, to order me to increase the citizen guard with which the assembly has deigned to surround itself. Permit me, gentlemen, to take this opportunity of repeating to the assembly, in the name of the national guard, that there is not one of us who would not give the last drop of his blood to secure the execution of its decrees, the freedom of its deliberations, and guarantee the inviolability of each of its members."

Some serious disorders had been committed at Marseilles.* In another part, M. Albert de Rioms, one of the most distinguished naval officers, had been arrested by a seditious mob. At Toulon, on the 3rd of May, M. de Glandevez had been attacked.

* At various periods, but especially on the 30th of April. A letter from M. de Saint Priest to the president of the national assembly, contained the account of the surprise of the fort of Notre Dame de la Garde, of the occupation of the citadel and fort de Saint Jean, of the murder of M. de Bausset, mayor of the latter place, and also the orders that the king had given to the municipality of Marseilles to evacuate the forts, and make them over to the troops to whose guard they had been intrusted, and his order to the tribunals to prosecute the culprits to the utmost rigour of the law. That letter finally announced the selection the king had made of M. de Crillon to replace in the command of Marseilles, M. de Miran, who had given in his resignation.

"Gentlemen," said Lafayette, at the meeting of the 3rd of May, "the affairs of Marseilles have been detailed to you by my predecessors at the tribune.* When the king recals to its duty a deluded municipality, seeks the authors of an assassination, watches over the safety of ports and arsenals,—when he suppresses disorders in various parts of the kingdom, I only behold in that constitutional and necessary exercise of his authority a guarantee for the public welfare. I neither exaggerate the anti-revolutionist movements, which it would be madness to tempt, but cowardice to fear, and which it is sufficient for us to watch narrowly,—nor that influence, I scarcely know what, of excited or ambitious projects against the unity of the monarchy. And even if jealous neighbours were to attack our budding liberty, what may not be achieved by a nation, powerful from its ancient qualities and new virtues, united by liberty, armed completely for her defence, secure of the principles of its chief, what may she not do, I repeat, to complete that great revolution, which will be ever marked by two peculiar traits—the energy of the people, and the probity of the king? But I must take this opportunity of pointing out to the assembly the fresh and combined fermentation which displays itself from Strasburg to Nismes, from Brest to Toulon, and which the enemies of the people would vainly attribute to them, when it bears every sign of a secret influence. Is any intention shown of establishing departments? the country is a prey to devastation and the victims are designated. Do neighbouring powers arm themselves? disorder breaks out in our ports. The chains of M. d'Albert are now borne by M. de Glandevez. May the just indignation of the assembly against these illegal acts of violence preserve, in future, the safety of our commanders and our arsenals!

"We do not recognise, unquestionably, in these excesses, the calculations, interests, or sentiments of the people; but when municipalities and administrative bodies exceed their functions, when, retaining the feelings of distrust belonging to the former government, of which the abuses have been destroyed, men forget that it is the confusion of powers that constitutes tyranny, and that, as soon as those powers are clearly specified, the full exercise of each of them is necessary to public force; let not a vain desire of popularity prevent us, gentlemen, from laying down principles ourselves, and recalling our fellow-citizens to their observance."

* MM. de André, de la Rochefoucauld, and de Castellane, deputies of Marseilles.

"M. de Lafayette," says the Journal de Paris, of the 14th of May, "was standing for the second time at the tribune, and on the point of again addressing the assembly, when a voice was heard which did not issue from the tribune, but from the middle of the hall.

"'Gentlemen,' cried a very aged ecclesiastic, they wish to provoke, yes, they wish to provoke the town of Marseilles: it is to obtain the command of an army, to drag afterwards the king into the midst of that army, and carry him far away from us.'

"On hearing these extraordinary words, it might be supposed that the person speaking was one of those men in whom a passionate love of Liberty had awakened an exaggerated idea of the perils to which she was exposed. We are assured, however, that the ecclesiastic who held this very singular language, cannot be reproached with any excess of democracy.

"M. de Lafayette was perhaps the person who heard these words with most composure and serenity. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'it is with the tranquillity of a pure conscience, and the conviction that I need not blush to avow one of my sentiments or actions,—it is with the keenest desire that all the circumstances of the revolution should be carefully examined,—that I now consent to the motion of M. de Mirabeau, to refer the details of the affair to the committee of reports."*

We have just seen an example of the frequent and vehement movements excited, often in an anti-revolutionary interest, both in the bosom of the assembly and beyond its precincts. The following

* Mirabeau, when asking for that reference, endeavoured above all to repulse each declaration of the assembly that might lead to the idea that the municipality of Marseilles was guilty.

anecdote, drawn from a report of Bailly, and related by the papers of the day, recals one of those popular movements of another species, in which the voice of the commander-in-chief, all-powerful over the multitude, proved, each day, the falsehood of those reproaches of anarchy which, forty years after, were showered, with equal ignorance and malevolence, upon the first chiefs of the revolution.

"I will now explain to you," said Bailly, at the meeting of the 26th of May,* "the measures that the commander-in-chief and I have taken to secure public tranquillity. We have perceived that since these nine or ten days a high degree of fermentation exists in this town; some foreign vagabonds have collected together and endeavoured to cause disorders: they excite the people. We are even assured that money has been given. Not later than yesterday, attempts were made to hang a man.† The commander-in-chief arrived in time to save him. One of the mob having said that he ought to be again seized, M. de Lafayette arrested that man with his own hand, and conducted him to the châtelet; he proved by that deed that to lend a strong arm to the law is fulfilling an honourable function. The people around immediately cried out: 'Bravo! Vive Lafayette!' Fresh tumults have been announced to us. We have displayed a considerable force. Everything appears at present tranquil; the people are assembled, but in small numbers, and without disorder. The municipal officers have issued a proclamation, which will soon be posted up in all public places."

* *Moniteur* of 27th.

† That man was accused of having stolen a bag of oats. See, in the Correspondence, the *Letter of General Lafayette* of 25th of May, 1790, and the *Journal de Paris* of the 27th.

When Mr. Burke, some years after he had caused the house of commons to decree "that the power of the crown had increased, was still increasing, and ought to be diminished," became a zealous favourer of that same prerogative, and by the same occasion a pensioner of the crown, he was necessarily an enemy to our constitutional monarchy, of which the basis was more republican than that of the English monarchy. His poetical imagination painted to him France as destined to become "*a great blank*" in the political system of Europe. Aristocracy applauded loudly his prediction. We have seen, during the last five and twenty years, in what manner that prediction has been accomplished.

While he was proclaiming that unavoidable declension of our strength, Mr. Pitt formed the intention of taking advantage of our weakness to seek a quarrel with Spain.* It was only necessary for Lafayette to say a few words on this occasion at the assembly; but the keen interest he himself felt in the subject authorizes us to make mention of the affair in this collection.

The 14th of May, a letter from M. de Montmorin was read to the assembly, announcing to them the difficulties that were rising between England and Spain, and informing them that the king had ordered the armament of his vessels. Lafayette, and some other members, demanded that they should deliberate the next day on this very important communication.

* The Spaniards had just taken four English vessels that had entered into the bay of Nootka, to make exchanges with the natives. The British cabinet, after having demanded a reparation at the court of Madrid, who replied by appealing to a right of property over these little-frequented coasts, immediately ordered a considerable armament to be prepared.

The 16th, the assembly almost unanimously decreed, on the proposal of Mirabeau, that thanks should be returned to the king for the measures he had taken.

The differences between England and Spain were far, however, from assuming an aspect of conciliation. The 25th of August, after an eloquent speech from Mirabeau, in the name of the diplomatic committee, the assembly unanimously voted the following decree:—

"The national assembly, taking into consideration the armaments of the different nations of Europe, their progressive increase, the security of the French colonies, and of the national commerce, decree that the king be requested to give orders that the French squadrons on commission may be extended to forty-five ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and other vessels."

The English government perceived that we were neither so much weakened nor divided that Spain could not still depend on the support of her old ally.

The debate on the right of peace and war, begun the 15th of May,* divided the popular party into two shades of opinion, of which one gave more influence to the royal prerogative, but both of which rendered necessary the consent of the assembly. Mirabeau supported the former measure; Barnave adopted the second; Lafayette shared the opinion of Mirabeau, against which some popular prejudices had been formed, and supported it also at the sitting of the 22d of May:—

"It seems to me perfectly just that M. Barnave, when he asks to reply to M. de Mirabeau, should be allowed to speak. I

* It was brought forward by M. Alex. de Lameth, on the occasion of the letter of M. de Montmorin, relative to the armaments of England, and the orders given to increase the naval force of France.

request that permission for him; and as I do not agree with him respecting the decree, I request it for myself after him.*

At the end of the debate, Lafayette resumed in this manner:—

"I shall say but one word on priority, which I demanded for the project of M. de Mirabeau, as amended by M. Chapelier, because I conceived I saw in the decree thus organized all that is suitable for the majesty of a great people, for the morality of a free people, for the interest of a numerous people, whose industry, possessions, and foreign relations, require a firm and an efficacious protection. I find in it that distribution of power which appears to me most conformable to the true constitutional principles of liberty and monarchy; most proper for removing the evils of war; most advantageous for the people; and at this present moment, when minds are apparently misled on those great metaphysical points, when those who, ever united for the popular cause, differ to-day in opinion, even while adopting nearly the same fundamental principles; at this moment, when endeavours are made to convince the people that those only are their true friends who adopt a certain decree, I thought that it was proper that a different opinion should be clearly expressed by a man to whom some experience, and some labours in the cause of liberty, have given the right of forming an opinion on the subject.

"I thought that I could not better cancel the immense debt I have contracted towards the people than by not sacrificing to the popularity of a day that opinion which I conceive may be useful to them."†

* Barnave had asked to reply to Mirabeau, while a portion of the assembly demanded the close of the debate. Various projects of decrees were then read; a contest ensued concerning the priority that should be granted to one of those projects, and it was then that General Lafayette expressed his opinion.

† Twenty-two decrees had been proposed in this debate. The one adopted by the national assembly established that the right of peace and war belonged to the nation; that war can only be determined by a decree of the legislative body, voted on the formal and necessary proposal of the king, afterwards sanctioned by himself; that the care of watching over the exterior security of the kingdom, of maintaining its rights and possessions, has been delegated to the king by the constitution

The project of a general federation of all the national guards occupied attention at that time; the assembly prepared the constitutional organization of the armed force which, since the 14th of July, 1789, existed but through a provisional organization at the Hotel de Ville of Paris, which had been imitated in other parts of the kingdom. Lafayette had been obliged on all sides to refuse the commands that were offered him; but at the approach of the federation, the idea of his promotion re-awakened with fresh ardour, and Lafayette thought he ought to anticipate the moment when the national guards of France should propose proclaiming him their

of the state; that he alone can therefore preserve external political relations, conduct negotiations, select agents for this purpose, make preparations of war proportionable to those of foreign states, distribute the land and sea forces as he may judge proper, and regulate their direction in case of war; that, in case of impending or commenced hostilities, of an ally to support, of a right to preserve by force of arms, the executive power shall be expected to give, without delay, notice of it to the legislative body, and to make known its cause and motive; and that if the legislative body be dispersed, it shall immediately assemble; that upon receiving that notice, if the legislative body judge that the commenced hostilities be a culpable aggression on the side of the ministers, or of some other agent of the executive power, the author of that aggression shall be prosecuted as guilty of treason to the nation; the national assembly declaring on this occasion, that the nation renounces all ambition of conquest, and will never employ her power against the freedom of any people; that during the whole course of the war, the legislative body may request the executive power to negotiate peace; that it will belong to the king to annul or ratify with foreign powers all the conventions he conceives necessary for the welfare of the state; and that the treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce, can only be executed when ratified by the legislative body; that the moment war ceases, the legislative body shall fix the precise period when the extra troops are to be disbanded, and the army reduced to its permanent state.

commander-in-chief on the altar of the country. We shall again quote the *Journal de Paris*, a gazette of great veracity at that time, which is now before us. The speeches we report may be also found in the other periodical papers, and in the *Moniteur*.

"8th June, 1790.—At the close of the reading of the project of a decree,* the Bishop of Autun announced that M. de Lafayette had repaired the day before to the committee of constitution; that he proposed establishing immediately a constitutional principle upon national guards; that he thought it important to frame the decree before their general federation; and that M. de Lafayette himself was going to propose that decree to the assembly.

"At these words there was at first a great movement, succeeded by a profound silence, in the national assembly. The proposal of a general confederation of all the national guards had given birth, in the minds of a large portion of the public, to the idea of a general command of more than a million of citizen soldiers, and it was well known to whom a great number of national guards, independent of those of the capital, had already offered their command. It was in the midst of these recollections, and of the speeches they occasioned, that M. de Lafayette rose to speak.

"Whatever impatience I may feel, he said, to celebrate the festivities of liberty, and namely, the 14th and 15th of July, I should have wished that the period of a general confederation were less determined by recollections than by the progress of our

* The 5th of June, Bailly, at the head of a deputation from the municipality of Paris, came to propose to the assembly the project of submitting to a general confederation all those bearing arms in France for the defence of the empire and liberty. The 8th, the Bishop of Autun read a decree upon the manner of putting this project into execution.

labours; I am not now alluding to decrees of regulation or legislation, but to that declaration of rights, to that organization of social order, to that distribution of the exercise of sovereignty, which constitutes the essential points of a constitution. It is for the latter that Frenchmen armed themselves, and that they now confederate. May we, gentlemen, animated by the idea of that holy union, hasten to depose on the altar of the country a more complete work! The organization of the national guards forms part of it, and will guarantee for ever the liberty of France; but this grand conception of a nation tranquil herself under her civic banners, must not be allowed to mingle, at any future day, with those private combinations which would compromise public order, and perhaps even the constitution. I believe, gentlemen, that at the moment when the national assembly and the king impress so high a character on federations, which will all assemble in this hall through their deputies, it is right to pronounce such an incontestible principle, that I content myself with proposing the following decree:

"The national assembly decrees, as a constitutional principle, that no person can hold a command of national guards in more than one department, and reserves the power of deliberating whether that command ought not to be limited to the extent of each particular district."

The evening sitting, 19th of June, 1790, was rendered famous by the abolition of titles of nobility. We shall quote an extract from the *Journal de Paris*, of the 21st and 22nd of that month:—

"The members were solely occupied with Louis XIV. and the slaves that ought to be removed from his statue,* when, in the midst of a confusion of many voices, one voice was heard above the rest; it was that of M. Lambel, who exclaimed, 'Since we must efface all the monuments of pride, we must not only overthrow statues, but we must suppress all those titles of dukes, counts, marquises,'——

* M. Alexandre de Lameth had asked that the slaves chained at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV., amongst whom La Franche Comté was represented, should be concealed from the sight of the deputies of that province who were to arrive for the federation.

" He had not ended his sentence, when M. Lafayette and M. Charles Lameth rose at the same moment to speak. After M. Lameth, who spoke first, M. Lafayette said :—

" 'I will never contest the right of speaking; I hope never to be obliged in this hall to contest the rights of the constitution: the motion that has been made, and that which M. Lameth supports, is so necessary a consequence of the constitution, that it is impossible it should occasion the slightest difficulty; I content myself with uniting in it with my whole heart.'

" At this, M. de Lardimalie asked in what manner merit could, in that case, be recompensed, and what could be substituted for the title of nobility of a family of Perigord, which bears in substance, 'such a person made noble and count for having saved the state on such a day?'

" Those words, replied M. Lafayette, 'made noble and count,' will be suppressed; it will be simply said, 'such a person saved the state on such a day.' These words appear to me to bear the stamp of the American character, that precious fruit of the new world which was to serve to the regeneration of the more ancient one."

MM. de Noailles et Mathieu de Montmorency defended the motion, which was attacked by the Abbé Maury and some other orators of the right side.

" M. Goupil de Prefeln presented a project of decree; in the last article he proposed leaving to the brothers of the king alone, and the princes of the blood, the title of lord.

" On this, M. Lafayette resumed his speech :—

" No person, said he, is more convinced than I am of the necessity of giving great splendour and energy to the great hereditary magistracy exercised by the king; but in a free country there can only be citizens and public officers. I do not understand on what pretence distinctions and titles, which can only from this time belong to functions and magistracies, should be granted to the brothers of the king and the princes of the blood, who are not born public functionaries and magistrates. Should they possess, independent of rank, the conditions required by law, they may become active citizens, and that is all they ever can become."

The debate closed by the adoption of a project of decree presented by M. Chapelier.*

It may not be useless to observe, that the next day, on some observations sent to the committee of constitution by several distinguished citizens,—namely, by M. de Condorcet, that committee proposed presenting to the assembly the details of the decree; giving, for example, in common to all, the right of bearing arms and other emblems, which were no longer the property of any individual family —a proposal that appeared conformable to the true principles of liberty; but in the king's council, on the representations of the keeper of the seals, and in spite of M. Necker, it was resolved to send the sanction instantly, in the fear of any improvement that might soften the ill effects the decree would produce in the class of nobility. That same system is found everywhere.†

* Decree abolishing the titles of duke, count, marquis, baron, excellency, lord, highness, abbé, &c., forbidding families from taking other names than their family and paternal names, the use of liveries, arms, and incense, when not offered to the divinity.

† Mirabeau, who had taken the reverse of the doctrine of Lafayette, respecting the political state to be given to princes of the blood, caused the first dispositions of the decree concerning them to be altered. It was during the absence of Lafayette that they recurred to the decision obtained the 19th of June; and, on that occasion, a very droll conversation took place between Mirabeau and the Duke d'Orleans. The latter declared that princes of the blood should be considered like simple citizens, and argued against Mirabeau, who said to him, "You may do all you please; you are, and you ever must remain, privileged people." "But," demanded the Duke of Orleans, "is there not a medium that may be observed between these two extremes?" "Pardon me," replied Mirabeau, "there remains the medium of taking you, as soon as you come into the world, and strangling you, like the whelps of wolves."—(Note found in the papers of General Lafayette.)

CORRESPONDENCE,

FROM OCTOBER 5, 1789, UNTIL JULY 14, 1790.

Tuesday.*

You must have received news of me from Madame de Lafayette. Everything has turned out better than we could expect; the good intelligence of the troops prevented the action that I feared would take place. Our army, before reaching Versailles, swore fidelity to the king, in spite of all cabals. The king and queen conducted themselves very well. I have only seen the king, to whom, I think, I rendered some service to-day; the sanction of the constitution and the adoption of our cockade will please very much. Farewell.

TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.†

You must have seen Mirabeau this evening, my dear friend, as well as Maubourg; the former was much displeased with you, ready to take any deci-

* Night of the 5th of October.

† This letter, from a mutual friend of General Lafayette and Mirabeau, relates to a project of change of ministry which was discussed in the first conference at Passy, a few days after the 6th of October.

sive step, and placed confidence in none of the promises that they are preparing to make him. I did all I could to persuade him he might still rally to our party. I know not whether you can have persuaded him, but do not flatter yourself lightly on this subject. Maubourg must have told you what I am now writing. The departure of the Duke of Orleans will produce a great effect here and in Paris; we must expect it, and prepare ourselves in consequence. I have thought of the means of forming still better your political employments; for example, of sending Brabant to Geneva, to recal M. de Bombelles to substitute M. d'Eterno, to send Sémonville to Ratisbon, &c. to intrigue there. All this you perceive, my dear friend, depends on two circumstances: that M. de Montmorin should be immediately appointed governor, without its being necessary for the dauphin to be placed in his hands, and that the keeper of the seals should be dismissed. In respect to the latter, it will be easy to frighten him so much by means of the assembly and the public, that he will accept an embassy with gratitude. The king may write to M. Necker to force him to remain, under pain of being looked upon as having abandoned public affairs in a cowardly manner. M. Necker cannot publicly complain of being ill supported, when M. de Malesherbes will be given him as keeper of the seals.

You see, my dear friend, on what slight threads the fate of the revolution now depends. If you have any ministry but the present one, if the revolution fail, we remain slaves, after having shed rivers of blood; we should be all dishonoured, and you, considered as a rebel, hung up, without glory, and without honour. If you succeed, for men judge, unfortunately, from events, we are free as

Frenchmen, and honoured as your friends, and you, the first man in the world and of the age, would secure yourself the happiest and most glorious old age that a man of forty may be allowed to enjoy if he chooses. In short, general, the Rubicon is passed; I told you, when I sent away the Duke of Orleans, you would be forced to be popular to excess, and, above all, to support strongly the government, for you will soon require its aid, in spite of your presence at the council. This is the crisis: the arrival of the assembly at Paris; the journey to England will throw a degree of anxiety and confusion in all minds, which you must fix by some great blow. As to yourself, general, do not think of becoming inspector,—that is impossible; remain commander-in-chief; it is the most modest title, but the necessary one. Farewell, most affectionately. At seven o'clock to-morrow.

.....

We have agreed* to leave the ministry as it is, with the exception of his attack on M. de Saint Priest, from which I could not persuade him to desist. I will not enter the council. I will not become generalissimo; he only desires the prospect of being minister in case a total change of ministers become from circumstances necessary. He abandons the

* General Lafayette evidently here designates Mirabeau, who attacked in reality M. de Saint Priest, in the sitting of the 10th of October, for some words the latter was accused of having pronounced the 5th of October, and that he disavowed. This letter is therefore after the events of the 5th and 6th, although the principal tumults caused by the black cockades worn by the aristocrats were of the 3rd and 4th.

Duke of Orleans to his own turpitude, and told me some things of Duport, Lameth, and Barnave, which struck me very forcibly. I shall await proofs.

It is a little hard to exchange a supper with you for a revolt. The black cockades were soon followed by a popular movement; we were obliged to take arms, and guard the Hotel de Ville. They are endeavouring to starve us, and we are at present under rather a dark cloud.

.....

It is natural that, at this moment, all those who are kindly disposed towards me, or who wish to place themselves near the spot where I shall be stationed, should be occupied with my future prospects; others are so from love of the public good. Some wish me to become constable, others generalissimo; the ministers have proposed to me the staff of Marshal of France. Alexandre,* the organ, I believe, of M. de Latour-du-Pin, spoke of the army of Flanders, which would suit me extremely well, if all things were calm, because it is the principal army, and the one that will march in case of war. I reply to all this that I can only think of my own concerns when I have become quite useless, and, between ourselves, I fancy that ingratitude will then spare me the embarrassment of recompences.

.....

It was said in a society composed of fifteen or twenty persons, that I ought to be inscribed at the club called *the Revolution*. I replied, that I had no objection.

* M. Alexandre de Lameth.

This is the first time I heard of it: I was even ignorant that it was the club of the Bretons.*

TO M. MOUNIER.

Paris, October 23, 1789.†

WHATEVER grief I felt at your departure, my dear Mounier, I denied myself the consolation of writing to you, until the moment when we should better understand our situation, and reflect more calmly on our duties.

The circumstances of our arrival at Versailles, and of our return to Paris, are too well known to you for me to repeat them here; our present object is to know in what situation we are placed, and what result good citizens may derive from it.

You were justly alarmed by the fear of a party against the reigning branch, and by that of seeing the deliberations of the assembly disturbed by the

* The Breton club only repaired to Paris after the 6th of October. It was then that it became the society of Jacobins.

† It is well known that after the 6th of October some deputies, equally recommendable from their character and talent, quitted the assembly. One of them, M. Mounier, spent several months in his native province, of which he had deservedly obtained the confidence; and with good intentions, but with ideas I could not share, he endeavoured, as may be seen in his writings, to excite in the Dauphiné an opposition against the national assembly. He was not persecuted, but met with no success. I insert here a letter, which, while it is a testimony of my high esteem for him, shews how much I was disposed to come to an understanding with zealous royalists, provided they were, like Mounier, true friends of liberty. Some persons will disapprove in it, perhaps, as in other critical circumstances, of my excessive dread of civil war; but I do not feel the slightest inclination to alter my opinion on that subject.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

tumults that ill-intentioned persons ferment to ruin everything; well, those two dangers are further removed from us than they were at Versailles.

You must first learn that, three days after the arrival of the king, I explained myself in an open manner with the Duke of Orleans. The result of that conversation was, the departure of that prince for England; not that I have any positive proof against him, for if I had I should have denounced him; but it was sufficient for me to feel an anxiety to encourage in him his natural taste for travelling.

The party of the Duke of Orleans is very active; they wish to bring me to trial; but that would be awkward for themselves: and if the attack were to take place, would my eyes seek vainly Mounier for my defender?

As regards the paid tumults with which we have been incessantly threatened, and which interest me more deeply because opportunities are constantly sought in them for assassinating me, I believe that I have now succeeded more fully than ever in mastering them. If bread should not fail, I can answer for all things. A baker was hung the day before yesterday by the people; I had the hangman, a cutter-off of heads, and an exciter of riots, arrested. Those men have been judged according to the new forms; two were executed yesterday, and the third will be so to-morrow. A council of war is to be held to-day to judge the officers and soldiers who did not oppose with sufficient firmness the riot of the baker.

Not one member of the national assembly has been exposed to the slightest want of respect; the deliberations are much less disturbed by the gallery than they were at Versailles. I send you a copy of the martial law. You will learn with pleasure that

the king never goes out without being greeted by acclamations, and every proof of affection from the people.

Two of your objections still remain unanswered; where are the gardes-du-corps, and why does not the king hunt? To the first I reply, that it is with the regret of the national guard that the king, or rather the captains of the guards, dismissed them. The second will soon be answered effectually, for the king is going to resume his hunts, and the only change between his former and present life will be, a more habitual residence in the capital.* We shall arrange the affair of the gardes-du-corps in such a manner as to satisfy you fully, at the same time that the national guards will retain the advantages they have amply deserved by their conduct. I will

* If that wish were not realized, it was neither my fault nor that of my friends, without bringing forward in this place the motives of respect, affection, and devotion, that inspired us with it. I shall observe, that it was both the interest and desire of the constitutionalists to establish fully the liberty of the king, and the sincerity of his acceptations. The policy of our adversaries was totally different; and, to quote but one example of this, the queen having informed me, in 1790, that she should view with pleasure the return of the gardes-du-corps, I immediately spoke on the subject to the king, and as soon as I had obtained his consent, I concerted with M. Bailly a measure of the commons of Paris, who shewed the same deference and anxiety to fulfil the wishes of the royal family. It was not without some feelings of displeasure that I learnt, a few days later, from the queen, and afterwards from the king, that, on pretences of security for their guards, they had been persuaded to abandon this project. The deputies of the four companies appeared subsequently at the federation, and were received in a manner that proved how unfounded were those fears. It was vainly also that I frequently entreated their majesties, and urged the king to resume his habit of hunting, and that of riding on horseback. I never could obtain any satisfactory answer on that point.—(Note by General Lafayette.)

appeal in this case to the courtiers and aristocrats themselves, who have not been able to help rendering them justice.

As to myself, I am astonished but not discouraged by my enormous responsibility. Devoted both from affection and duty to the cause of the people, I shall combat with equal ardour, aristocracy, despotism, and faction. I am conscious of the errors of the national assembly; but it appears to me more dangerous, and it would be truly criminal, to throw it into discredit. I dislike one individual possessing too much influence; but I am far more convinced than you believe of the necessity of strengthening the executive power. I believe that the only way of avoiding civil war, and of doing good, is to consider present circumstances, to act with and by the national assembly and the king, united together in the capital. I believe that great work possible, I believe it certain, if great citizens and great talents do not desert public affairs. I may even venture to promise you success, my dear Mounier, if the provinces seek to unite themselves with us, if we form closer connexions, and mutually endeavour to apprize each other of our true interests and views, rather than to excite a civil war, which could only lead to a separation of the provinces, to the dismemberment of monarchy, perhaps to a change of dynasty, and, what is still more important, to the slavery and misery of present and future generations.

I conjure you, therefore, in the name of the country, of virtue, of your moral and political principles—I conjure you not to cause the evils which you now fear, and which would be the inevitable result of a dissolution, that we may still prevent, but that the slightest movement may occasion. You know that I am a man of honour; you will know one day that

I am neither ambitious nor even exaggerated in my projects; and if your friendship for me should not suffice to recal you immediately to our side, if you abandon me in the midst of the difficulties and party dangers I am now exposed to, spare, at least, the public weal; spare yourself regrets, I may even say, remorse; and delay, yourself, and let your friends delay, taking any decisive step, until you see whether our professions be perfidious and our hopes fallacious. Tell us what we ought to do, rather than destroy, beforehand, all we intended doing; and recollect, that if it be possible to render the cause of the people triumphant, to give liberty to the nation, and restore to its chief all the power he ought to have to enable him to do good, that possibility must undoubtedly arise from the union of all good citizens, and the harmony subsisting between all the parties of the empire. Do not allow yourself to give way to discouragement and ill-humour; and if I perish in my efforts to save the country, let not my last expression be the reproach of desertion to those whose union might have saved us, and whose opposition may ruin all things.

Farewell, my dear Mounier.

Tuesday ——.

M. DE SAINT-PRIEST accuses me of weakness, and I have given proof of some, in truth, as regards myself. I forgot I had heard him advocate bankruptcy, at the ministers' Brienne and Lamoignon, rather than yield to the revolutionary spirit; I forgot the trick he played me of making use of a confidential note of mine relating to the arrival of a regiment from Flanders, which was already on the road; I forgot

that those two battalions had scarcely arrived, when his style towards me completely changed; I forgot that on the 5th he had proved but little interest for me, and to pay me in kind for my forgetfulness, he forgot that I saved him on his arrival at Paris, as you may see from a letter to his wife. Since that period, he has acted like a man of sense, whose true feelings are despotic, but who is conscious that it is necessary to yield, and on some points he is more in the spirit of the revolution than the others; but his own conversation, the sentiments expressed in his house, in short, all that proves a man's real opinions, are decidedly against us. To the comedians, he says, "that cannot last;" at the ambassadors, he speaks slightingly of the assembly; at the opera even, he takes pains to repeat every act of insubordination of the national guards. How can you expect me to place confidence in him?

M. Necker may have seen that the men on the left of the president, that the Jacobin club, do not wish to ruin the state. All voted for the financial project, all adopted the new changes he was pleased to make in it; the obstacles only came from the other side.*

TO M. DE BOUILLÉ.†

Paris, November 14th, 1789.

I HAVE delayed answering your letter, my dear cousin, because I was extremely anxious to find the

* This probably relates to the financial debates of the month of November.

† M. de Bouillé has published my letters and his own in his Memoirs, in which impartial people have discovered the justifi-

man of whom you spoke; we have sought for him carefully, without being able to recognise him; in the various movements that have taken place, that man may possibly have quitted the corps. I wish that they would send to Paris an under-officer who could designate him, and, to place ourselves in proper order with the civil power, he should also bear an official statement of the transaction, with a description of the man, signed by some officers, and, namely, the commander of the corps. I cannot better prove to you my zeal on this subject, than by telling you that M. Desmottes has undertaken the search.

Desertion is always a bad thing; and the army would be unjust towards me, if it could believe me capable of negligence in this respect. I undoubtedly desired that the soldiers destined to act against us should pass under our banners; but that situation only lasted a few days, after which I considered desertion as an embarrassment for us, and it now appears to me as one of the most dangerous evils to which the kingdom can be exposed. But when, in a garrison, it may be difficult to resist the secret influences or force of circumstances which have deranged so completely all discipline, believe that it is more difficult, in the midst of a town and of an immense population, to repulse that band of deserters who do not come to espouse our cause, but merely to escape from their own service, and that some justice is due to the corporation of Paris,

cation of my conduct towards him, without its being necessary for me to recal any other testimony than his own avowals and letters. Bouillé has proved a more loyal enemy than Bertrand, Dumouriez, Rivarol, and the author of the "Notice on Sieyes." —(Note of General Lafayett

whose exertions have been as sincere as unremitting.

After having carefully weighed our difficulties and peculiar situation, the king has resolved to prolong the permission until the 5th of October; so that every soldier engaged before the arrival of the king remains to us, and that soldiers, even those who joined us the day of the arrival, are sent back to their own regiments, where the king orders they should be exempt from punishment, but that on no pretence whatever indulgence shall be shewn to any fresh deserters.

All the companies of the national guard are to be examined with the most scrupulous attention, Monday and Tuesday. The chiefs and majors of division, commanders and majors of battalion, and two of our aides-de-camp, are to see each company, separated from the others. I will send you, if you desire it, a copy of their proceedings.

I have entered into many details on this subject, because I know that the intentions of the town of Paris have been calumniated; and yet she has nothing to reproach herself with towards the army, since she has employed all the means in her power; the soldiers have no cause to complain, for she only sends away those who have come in spite of her declarations, and who have been received in spite of the orders of her representatives, and of her commander, founded upon those the king had sent to the regiments.

As to the equipage of the regiment of Nassau, my dear cousin, I know that the displeasure of the officers of that corps has been excited against me on that account, and I ought in conscience only to be on bad terms with the council of administration. I acknowledge that I was little favourable to that

portion of the equipage the king could replace; but I have not taken one step, or spoken one word, of which the tendency was not to save all private equipages. An indemnity has been asked for, which I should prefer giving immediately, from the fear that the goods may be spoilt.

This is all, my dear cousin, that relates to private concerns; but there is a public one that interests me deeply, and which ought to unite all good citizens, whatever may have been their political opinions. We have both of us loved liberty; I required a stronger dose of it than you did, and I wished to obtain it for the people, and by the people; that revolution has been accomplished, and you ought to feel less regret, since you yourself have taken no part in it: but, at the present moment, we fear the same evils—anarchy, civil dissensions, the dissolution of all public force; we desire the same blessings—the re-establishment of credit, the reinforcement of constitutional liberty, the restoration of order, and a strong degree of executive power. A counter-revolution having become, fortunately, impossible,—and besides, criminal, since it would entail on us a civil war, and, whatever measures might be taken, the massacre of the weaker party,—all honest men, all good citizens, can only now seek to sustain the machine in the sense of the revolution. The king is impressed with this truth; all men possessing power ought, I think, to be imbued with it; the national assembly, after having injured the cause at Versailles, is come to edify Paris; it will become more rational in proportion as all pretext for distrust has been destroyed; and in proportion, my dear cousin, as you rally round the new constitution, you will have the power of promoting the public weal.

As to me, whom circumstances and the confidence of the people have placed in a scale of responsibility far superior to my talents, I think I have proved that I detest faction as well as I love liberty; and I am expecting with impatience the period when I may also prove that no feeling of private interest ever entered into my heart. I pour out that heart to you with perfect confidence, my dear cousin; and, while I read with pleasure every sentence of your letters that assures me of your affection, I ardently desire to know whether this letter may meet with your approbation.

Farewell, my dear cousin; a thousand affectionate regards to your son. I wrote a few lines to you, that I fear have miscarried.

FROM PAOLI TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

London, November 16th, 1789.

THE compliments that M. Antili had the honour, Marquis, of presenting you from me, are a homage offered to public virtue, and to your whole conduct, which must serve as a model to minds tormented by the love of liberty and the true happiness of mankind. May you have as many imitators as you have admirers! Europe would enjoy more prosperous days, thrones would be supported by laws, the monarchs seated on them would be surrounded by glory, and would reign over the hearts of their subjects. No person forms more ardent wishes than I do for the success of your generous efforts.

M. Antili, on his return here, informed me of your kind reception, for which I offer you a thou-

sand thanks; he spoke to me also of the conversation he held with you on the subject of Corsica.

Our ideas, sir, coincide perfectly as to the grand principles of liberty; and I am also of your opinion, that the convention of France can only be very advantageous to my country; her freedom would be more secure, if it were protected and united with that of the other provinces of France. Some difficulties, resulting from the localities and present poverty of the island, would not form an insurmountable obstacle to the zeal of the wise moderators of the new constitution. But I cannot, Marquis, conceal from you the deep grief I experience, when I perceive that Corsica, become a province of the monarchy, is still, however, a retreat in which military despotism has intrenched itself, to prevent the poor Corsicans from adopting the measures that the other provinces have judged necessary to assist the legislature in the great work of the regeneration of the monarchy.

My countrymen, deputies of the general states, feel, as well as I do, that the oppression of their country, under present circumstances, is an insult still more intolerable than the unjust attempts at conquest to which they have occasionally been exposed by ministerial tyranny. I doubt not but that their zeal will lead them to make some representations; but, little accustomed to speak in public in a foreign language, I fear that their exertions may not produce the effect they merit.

This consideration, Marquis, must serve as my apology, if I now venture to recommend their cause to your protection and that of your friends. The pretensions of the Corsicans to liberty must possess, in your estimation, a merit even greater than that of the Americans: in this age of oppression, Corsica

was the first to lift up the standard of liberty against tyranny.

I need say no more to a man of your feelings and opinions; but the gratitude of my countrymen will be as eternal as the fame that will bear your glorious name down to the latest posterity. As to myself, I desire nothing more ardently than opportunities of proving to you the high esteem and sincere respect with which I am, &c.

FROM M. DE LA LUZERNE TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.*

London, November 25th, 1789.

I HAVE respected until now, my dear Marquis, your numerous labours and occupations; these have been for several months so glorious, and at the same time so painful, that I should have reproached myself had I called away your thoughts from them for a single instant. There still remain for you some moments of difficulty and anxiety; but I depend fully on the goodness of your fortune, and still more on the goodness of your heart. Whatever be your success, rest assured, my dear Marquis, that my affection for you shall only cease with my life.

In spite of the arm of the sea that separates us, you may well believe that there is no country in the world more occupied about you than this one. I will not tell you at present that they like you, or wish for your success; but I may with truth assure you, that they respect and admire you. Not only

* M. de la Luzerne was ambassador in England.

the English people do this, but the sovereign also, although he was not much prepossessed in your favour before the present events. I wrote a rather singular anecdote upon this subject to some mutual friends; I imagine they must have repeated it to you.

I have the pleasure of receiving here, as in America, a number of Frenchmen, but they have not come, undoubtedly, for the same cause, and you are not so popular with them as you were with the others. I may, however, assure you that, in the midst of their complaints, often extremely absurd, you are the person of whom they speak with most respect. Although I thus acknowledge that you are not very popular amongst our refugees, there are no Frenchmen nor Frenchwomen who do not respect you a thousand times more since you have sent me a brother ambassador. I own to you that, although I should have done extremely well without him, I believe you have rendered a great service to your country by politely urging him to abandon it. I prefer the political glory that he will not fail to acquire in England to that he would have acquired in France, and I think that his person, or rather name, would have embarrassed very much all persons who, like yourself, desire the re-establishment of order and the establishment of a good government.

The new ambassador is not more at ease in London than he was in Paris some time previous to his departure. No Frenchman (and yet there are great numbers here) will live with him, and although he sees privately M. de Calonne, they both deny having any relation together, which cannot render their intimacy very agreeable.

The prince does not succeed better with Englishmen than with Frenchmen; he is considered as

having deserted his party, which is a capital crime in this country, for which he is much disliked; he confines himself, therefore, to the society of his friend the prince of Wales, of a few complaisant companions, and of Madame de ——. He does not appear to me at all desirous of returning to France. I promise you to watch narrowly over all his steps, and that he shall not go away without your being apprised of it.

I have still to express to you, my dear marquis, my gratitude for the interest that I know you have taken in me and mine, on various occasions, and to assure you that no person in the world is more completely devoted to you, or desires more fully to convince you of his tender and sincere affection.

INSTRUCTION FOR M. DE BOINVILLE, MY AIDE-DE-CAMP.

M. DE BOINVILLE will lose no time in making acquaintance with the Marquis de la Luzerne, and in communicating to him everything likely to interest him, while demanding his counsels and assistance on every occasion.

It is important that I should be informed by every post, and in circumstances requiring haste and secrecy, by private couriers, of all the projects of the aristocratical and Orleanist parties. M. de Boinville will ascertain the truth of a suspicion of mine of a union between the two parties, by means of M. de Calonne.

In case of the Duke of Orleans intending to return to France, M. de Boinville will call on him and say, "My lord, you have seen me as aide-de-camp of M. de Lafayette; I am here by his order; it

would be needless to enter into the detail of the circumstances that have separated you from him. M. de Lafayette thinks that it is neither advantageous for you nor for him, that you should return to France before the end of the revolution; and as you can only appear there in the light of his enemy, he is entitled to declare this frankly to you, and to tell you, my lord, that, at the moment of your landing, he shall consider you as such, and that, if you arrive at Paris, his intention is to fight with you the next morning, and to justify himself the same day at the bar of the assembly." This declaration must only be made to the prince the night before his departure, or even the same morning, if his departure be at night.

M. de Boinville, without meddling directly with the subsistences, will take every necessary information on this subject, lend all the assistance that depends on him, and give me every opportunity of proving that it is to the king and the Hotel de Ville that the people are indebted for the measures that have been taken. The subject of subsistences must form an article in all his correspondence.

I depend also fully on M. de Boinville for all the information he may conceive useful to the revolution. London is the place of assemblage of the French aristocracy; very important intelligence may be derived from that quarter; and as M. de Boinville will make it his sole occupation, I doubt not but that he will furnish me with some very useful instructions.

FROM M. DE LA LUZERNE TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

M. DE BOINVILLE has communicated to me, my dear marquis, the instructions you gave him on his departure from Paris. I recognised in them the prudence and wisdom that have made you successful, during your whole life, in the most difficult enterprises. The step you have taken is extremely noble, loyal, and decisive; I hope, however, that you will not be obliged to come to the last extremity. That amiable prince is as prudent as consistent, and I believe that, on mature reflection, he will remain the whole winter with his dear Agnes. I am acquainted with some domestic arrangements that lead me to suppose he does not think of leaving London. But I know that it is necessary to watch over him, and I promise you that M. de Boinville and I will not slumber, and that you shall be informed of a portion, at least, of his actions. He is at present endeavouring to make a loan of five millions; he gives out as a pretext that he is obliged to reimburse that sum to his sister, on account of the succession of his father. Measures are taking to facilitate that loan for him, and M. de Montmorin, to whom I am writing by the same courier, will give you the details of this transaction.

Farewell, my dear marquis, your time is too valuable for me to encroach on it. Believe that I am, and shall be, much occupied with everything that is interesting to you, and that the tender and inviolable attachment I feel for you shall only end with my life.

.....

THE observation of Liancourt does not surprise me; he has been for some days in communication with the Bishop of Autun and Mirabeau upon a change in the ministry, in which M. de Saint Priest and the Archbishop of Bordeaux are to remain. Mirabeau renounces entering himself, provided he may have influence, and when M. Necker shall be tottering, the plan is to be presented to me, and my concurrence earnestly requested. I fancy it was to feel their way with me that they spoke before you. But as I am not intimate with any one party of the assembly, I must lose all influence.

You know that I gave advice to the ministers respecting some measures on Corsica; they wished to escape from *my despotism*. The assembly took part in it for them, and in spite of them.* Good night; to-morrow, at ten o'clock.

P.S. Be quite at ease concerning the gardes-du-corps.

TO GENERAL PAOLI.

Paris, December 11th, 1789.

SIR,—The letter with which you honoured me is more peculiarly valued by me because no person has ever rendered you with greater warmth than myself the homage of interest and admiration

* At the sitting of the 30th of November, the assembly decreed that the island of Corsica should form an integrant part of the French empire; that its inhabitants were to be governed by the same constitution as other Frenchmen; that Corsicans expatriated on account of the conquest of the island, should have the faculty of returning to their country to exercise all the rights of good citizens.

that every friend of liberty must owe you. It is delightful for me to offer it you, sir, at the moment when the representatives of the nation, repairing ministerial errors, have just expressed the real sentiments of Frenchmen for General Paoli, and when all my countrymen are impatiently awaiting the period when they may become personally acquainted with him whom they have never ceased to esteem, and whom they love as warmly as they appreciate the blessings of liberty.

I shall not enter into the details of Corsican affairs, upon which I had the honour of conversing with the deputies and your secretary. The union of our two countries, which already form but one country, is founded on a well-understood social contract, and shall be now maintained by the will of a free people, which must for ever secure our common happiness on the basis of a constitution, which, while seeking to combine the rights and interests of all, has spread no particular abuse nor baneful prejudice.

This letter will be delivered to you by M. de Chabot, my aide-de-camp, whom I have desired to express to you all the sentiments my heart has so long experienced for you. My attachment to you is one of the first tributes of my youthful years to the shrine of liberty: I shall be most happy to renew it to you personally, when you come to receive the applause of the French people, and enjoy, as a countryman, that representation which cannot be a matter of indifference to any friend of humanity.

Accept, sir, the homage of my respectful attachment, &c.

ON THE PAPERS OF THE IRON CUPBOARD.*

The articles countersigned Roland and Carra were found in the iron cupboard of the Tuileries, and classed by the two girondist commissaries,† who have been accused of having subtracted some papers that would have compromised their friends. I have had a copy taken at the national archives of that part of the collection relating to myself, from feeling that, placed as I have been between the malevolence of the court and that of the party who have proscribed me, I ought to make public the whole of *my political treacheries*.

It is essential to observe that those papers remained a sufficient time at the minister Roland's for him to be enabled to subtract everything that could compromise him, and, above all, the correspondence in which the painter Bose had been an active agent. This explains the complete silence which exists concerning those intrigues. It appears also that, from delicacy to Danton, everything was subtracted that related to his having been corrupted, a fact now so well authenticated; and as it is known that other jacobins had been, or were, in the same predicament, it is evident that the secret examination, that took place at Roland's house before the articles

* This note of General Lafayette is at the head of a collection of his letters found in the iron cupboard, and arranged according to dates in the general correspondence which we are publishing; it immediately precedes the first memorial addressed to the king.

† It appears that the minister Roland alone carried away the papers from the iron cupboard; we see at the end of them, however, the signature of Carra, another girondist, who was probably named by the convention to receive that deposit.—Note from General Lafayette.)

were delivered up to the inspection of the commissaries, was of use to some of the men of that day. The case was not the same with those that might injure Lafayette and his friends. I know it may be also asked what became of the recent correspondence of the Austrian committee and that of Mirabeau. As regards the latter, his connexion being at that time with Condorcet, who from the 10th of August had closely united himself with Roland, the explanation is a very easy one. But it is known that many of the secret correspondents of the court required that their letters and memorials should be immediately restored to them. Lafayette never asked the court, or any person, to give up a single line addressed to them; what has been published of his correspondence with the king is what might have been most likely to injure him. We shall see what was produced by those three years of an extraordinary, and, in some respects, an intimate, relation between Louis XVI. and the commander of the national guard.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO THE KING,

AND PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.*

No. 359, *Iron Cupboard.*

WHATEVER may be the difficulties of our situation, we must triumph over them; but we have neither time to lose nor means to neglect. The establishment of a free constitution, in which

* The king had asked Lafayette for a private account of what he himself believed ought to be done by the assembly and the king's council to make the revolution prosper, and preserve for the king the greatest degree of authority that could be allied

every interest yields to the interest of the people, is the only chance of safety for the nation and for the king, as it is the only system in which I can concur; it is no longer possible for the king to hesitate between parties; on one side are the ruins of a powerless aristocracy, receiving all, and giving nothing in return; on the other, the whole nation, who constitute his glory, power, and happiness. Necessity, as well as the feelings of the king, must guide his conduct; from thence he must abandon every ancient idea, every project of change, and rally frankly all hearts around the national standard.

The king must take offence at every word uttered against liberty, or of any doubt about the constitution, and his courtiers themselves must learn that, in a free country, the part they must act is that of men of the people.

The king's council must be united by a compact between its members; and that bond, alike necessary to their influence and security, once formed, every act must be examined and agreed upon in that committee: the ministers, far from seeking to thwart the national assembly, and establish between them and it a polemical rivalship, and harbouring a tendency to appeal to the nation, are bound in conscience to serve that assembly, and from a regard to their own safety, as well as a sense of duty, obliged to respect it, are forced to assist conscientiously that

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to the national interest. We perceive that this memorial was written some time after the arrival of the king at Paris; for he speaks in it of the formation of municipalities, of what Lafayette, to be clearly understood, terms *provincial assemblies*, and he observes, that *new divisions*, which at that moment occupied the assembly, were become necessary. It appears that when speaking of crowning judicial order by a supreme tribunal, like that of appeal, Lafayette did not altogether abandon his hopes of an elective senate; that is to say, of a council of ancients, such as necessity established in America, and in France, after some years' trial in the latter country of one chamber; and this is what is meant by the allusion to the changes which will be found absolutely necessary; but we find in that document, which is from its nature incomplete, that the wish of Lafayette was, that the constitutional act should be achieved at the period of the great federation of 1790, of which the aim and effect would have become in that case far more important; the close of his confidential memorial is conformable to his public declaration, that as soon as the constitution should be completed and the constituent corps replaced by the legislative corps, he should return to the rank of a simple citizen.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

assembly from duty, as well as obliged to respect it for their own security, without forfeiting, however, their dignity, and without separating themselves from its deliberations.

As to the members of the assembly, they must come to an understanding with the government for the general welfare; and feel how much time and reputation they have lost through self-love, party spirit, and the desire of shining, without forgetting that good citizens will not allow a long parliament to be established here. They must fulfil zealously all the functions belonging to a constituent assembly, and reserve all acts of pure legislation to an ordinary and a better composed legislature.

I propose, therefore:

1st. That the court should discard every appearance of constraint and discontent; that the military dispositions, the diplomatic changes, the interior details of the palace, the discovery of plots, and some exemplary punishments, that everything, in short, should deprive of all power and hope the enemies of liberty and regeneration, as well as of the Orleanist faction, who must be watched over and prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law.

2d. That there be held, at least twice a week, a committee of the principal ministers, which shall endeavour to perfect the revolution, make laws respected, afford us a guarantee, both internally and externally, restore union and energy to executive power, and pursue, in short, a system both nervous and popular. The other ministers, or any other useful persons, shall occasionally be present at these meetings, and their first employment shall be the establishment of a committee of subsistences for the whole kingdom; the points settled in that committee shall be written down, either for the council or for each department.

3d. That a council of influential members be formed in the national assembly to accelerate and regulate their actions. It appears to me that the labours of the assembly should be, to form municipalities and provincial assemblies, which place administrative bodies under the direction of the government, and give them present activity, so that France be assembled according to the new divisions of the 14th of December;*

* The 14th of December, sixty articles had been read to the assembly relative to the municipalities. This memorial of General Lafayette must have been written a few days after. The legislative debates on the new division of the kingdom, in its relations to the exercise of administrative power, were prolonged until February 16th, 1790.

The provisional measures to be taken for the reestablishment of tranquillity and the provisional support of the finances;

The disposition of the ecclesiastical funds, and the discipline of the clergy;

The settlement of principles respecting armed forces of every kind: all armed forces in the kingdom, however variously employed, ought only to be placed in activity under the direction of the king;

The definition of executive power, which secures to the king necessary authority, especially the freedom of political negotiations;

The settlement of a suitable civil list, and the immediate appropriation of funds in the other departments;

The formation of judicial order, and *the creation of a supreme tribunal or an elective senate;*

The declaration of the first principles of commerce, and the basis of a plan of education;

The financial regulations, which, after having fixed some principles, will afford the kingdom ample means of awaiting a first legislature, and even of supporting a war.

It is necessary, in short, to assemble all the decrees of constitutional power into one general body of constitution, of which the revisal will facilitate the changes that may be found necessary.

The proclamation of that constitution shall be the last act of the national assembly. It must have been previously received in the administrative assemblies, and that great epoch will be one of general forgetfulness of all dissensions and all parties, as well as that of the return of all absentees. The king, after swearing that constitution, will convoke a new legislature for the month of August or September. That is the latest period in which the king must strengthen his council, fill the first places of the administration with those citizens who, from their talents and patriotism, have most contributed to the success of the plan lately traced out, and his Majesty may make, beforehand, a list of those he may consider it most proper to select.

I say this with more freedom, because, although at this moment the choice of the people and public confidence have given me the only power I would accept—that of being useful—my fame and delicacy both require that the close of the revolution be marked by my complete abandonment of a political career.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, January 12th, 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I cannot let the packet sail without a line from your filial friend, who, although he depends on Mr. Short to give you information, wishes to express to you those affectionate and respectful sentiments that are never so well felt as in uncommon circumstances. How often, my beloved general, have I wanted your wise advice and friendly support. We have come thus far in the revolution without breaking the ship either on the shoal of aristocracy or on that of faction, and amidst the ever reviving efforts of the mourners and the ambitious, we are stirring towards a tolerable conclusion. Now that everything that was is no more, a new political edifice is erecting, far from perfection, but still sufficient to ensure freedom and prepare the nation for a convention in about two years, where the defects may be mended. I will not enter into the details I have already related. Common Sense* is writing a book for you; there you will see a part of my adventures. I hope they will turn to the advantage of my country and mankind in general. Liberty is springing up around us in the other parts of Europe, and I am encouraging it by all the means in my power.

Adieu, my beloved general. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to Hamilton, Harrison, Knox, and all our friends. Most respectfully and affectionately, &c.

I wish Mr. Jay, John Adams, Wodsworth, and

* Thomas Payne, author of a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense."

Doctor Franklin, could witness the contrast between the France of to-day, its capital, and the same country and city as they have known them.

TO M. DE BOUILLÉ.

Paris, February 9th, 1790.

FORGIVE, my dear cousin, my want of punctuality, but do not doubt the pleasure I derived from hearing that you approved of my conduct. We have been divided by principles and sentiments during the revolution; but at this present time we must all rally round the king, to strengthen a constitution that you love less than I do, that may have some defects, but that secures public liberty, and that is engraven too deeply in the minds of Frenchmen, for its enemies to be able to attack it without destroying the monarchy. When we have reached such a point, all honest men form only one party, of which the king has declared himself the chief, and which, disconcerting at the same time ancient regrets and factious hopes, must unite more closely the ties of public order, and bring back everywhere union and tranquillity to enable us to enjoy more fully the sweets of liberty. The heart of the king must repose with delight on the recollection of the good he has performed, and still more of the evils he has averted, and in which an ambitious or unfeeling monarch would have plunged France. Let us grant him the recompence of his virtues, by uniting together to restore tranquillity. That of Metz has been disturbed by various discussions, on which account some endeavours have been made to retard the labours of the national assembly. It is far better not to speak of them; and I conjure you to settle this

affair to the general satisfaction. It would be so easy for you to satisfy the citizens of Metz, to communicate to the officers the same disposition of mind, that you might give the example of a cordial union without want of discipline; while in other places, the one has been too frequently obtained at the expense of the other. You must be also conscious, that the best manner of securing to the king the constitutional authority that is requisite, is to satisfy the friends of liberty as to the perfect accordance of all the agents of executive power with the principles of the king. I heard that you had thought of quitting your country; as if your talents no longer belonged to her, and as if any private causes of displeasure gave you the right of depriving us of the victories you would gain for us, and in which you will permit me, I hope, to combat under your command. I flatter myself, my dear cousin, that my character is so well known to you, that it would be needless for me to tell you that the revolution will restore me precisely to the same place in which it found me. However strange may have been my adventures, it would appear to me still more so to derive profit from them, and I hope to take that engagement at a period when it will not have the appearance of a bargain. I much wish, my dear cousin, that you may seize every opportunity of binding yourself to the constitution. It is impossible that your talents should not excite jealousy, that your former opinions should not furnish either pretexts or reasons for anxiety: it may, perhaps, be useful to the public that you should declare yourself clearly on this point; the step taken by the king offers you an opportunity. I wish that, when it is said M. de Bouillé possesses great talents, and the confidence of the troops, no person should be

able to add, he is hostile to our principles. Pardon my frankness, my dear cousin; I only repeat to you what has been said to me twenty times in the last three days, and I wish no longer to hear that reproach against you.

Farewell, my dear cousin, accept the assurance of my warm affection.

February 10th.

I WILL but add one line more, my dear cousin, to the letter I have written. The national guard has requested me to ask the king to permit M. Duteil, whom it selected as commander, to conciliate that place with the one of lieutenant-colonel of artillery. This appeared to me the means of conciliating all things, and I send you my reply to the national guard, in which I announced that the king approved of M. Duteil exercising the place of commander of the national guard. I conjure you to seize this opportunity of consolidating the good intelligence which the last letters have flattered us with.

Once more farewell, my dear cousin.

February 19th, 1790.

I WAS much vexed this morning by the delay of the decree, and affected this evening by the courageous death of this man, who is undoubtedly very guilty.* The public fury gave me also pain. I should feel miserable if I had not written that letter.† The death of M. Favras appears to me, however, just. I expressed myself this morning with rather too much warmth. When the assembly was over, they proposed to me to come to an understanding with M.

* M. de Favras.

† The letters written to the châtelet relative to one of the denouncers of Favras.

de Mirabeau. I replied, "I do not like, esteem, or fear him: I know not therefore why I should attempt to come to an understanding with him." I am to speak to-morrow after him and Duport. The law* is but an indifferent one, but will suffice, when a few alterations have been made, for the establishment of the new order. The aristocratical party does not approve of it; but M. de Saint-Priest thinks that, with such a decree, everything may go on in its present course. Adieu, until to-morrow. I much require the soothing influence of your friendship; for I am almost as weary of mankind as Madame de Tessé.

TO THE KING.

Paris, February 20th, 1790.†

SIRE,—I place at the feet of your Majesty the gratitude of a pure and feeling heart, that knows how to appreciate your kindness and reply to your confidence. Believe, Sire, that your benevolent intentions will be fulfilled. When the people and the king make common cause together, who can succeed against them? I, at least, swear to your Majesty that, if my hopes should prove fallacious, the last drop of my blood shall attest my fidelity.‡

I am, with respect, Sire, &c.

* The martial law.

† This letter is found, No. 358, amongst the papers of the iron cupboard.

‡ I no longer recollect on what occasion this letter was written, whether it was the 6th or 10th. I think it was a letter of thanks for his determination to take the measure of the 4th of February, the day on which the king accepted, in a solemn manner, before the constituent assembly, all the decrees that served as a basis for the new constitution.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

.....

I SHALL be deprived to-day of the happiness of seeing you. My whole afternoon was occupied in speaking in favour of M. d'Albert,* whose affairs, I think, would have turned out ill if I had not entered into them; but I trust I have a good deal softened the public mind. I have still much to do, and I rest in the hope that you will pay me a visit, either as you go to supper, or on your way home. The club of the pretended Impartialists establishes itself under auspices which savour ill of impartiality. M. Malouet, the founder, after having repeated to his society a private conversation that occurred between us at my house, has inserted in the *Mercure* our interviews at the Hotel de la Rochefoucauld, and his whole conduct has tended to compromise us. The Duke de ——, the other founder, is such an aristocrat that his valet would no longer serve him. I have heard the Chevalier de Boufflers say, that if liberty and the king were to raise standards, we ought to be of the royalist side, and he has only spoken since with bitterness of the popular opinions. Virieu considers the national guards of the Dauphine and of Vivarais as rebels, &c. I wish no ill to the club. That of the Jacobins has no guard, and all persons may assemble peaceably; but the party calling itself impartial, will be only weak and insignificant, and if the ministers join it, they will destroy royal authority, by uniting its fate to all the abuses that the others wish to retain, and to all the vanities they wish to gratify. Adieu. I shall be happy to-morrow, for I shall see you.

* M. Albert de Rioms, chief of a squadron. The foundation of the *Club of Impartialists* was in February, 1790; this letter is of the month of March.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

Paris, March 17th, 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I hear with much concern that you have not received any of my letters; I hope, notwithstanding, that you have not suspected me of negligence; in these times of trouble, it has become more difficult to hear of or to seize opportunities, and how this will be carried, I leave to the care of Mr. Cayne, who goes to London.

Our revolution is getting on as well as it can, with a nation that has swallowed up liberty all at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom. The assembly have more hatred to the ancient system than experience on the proper organization of a new and constitutional government. The ministers are lamenting the loss of power and afraid to use that which they have; and as every thing has been destroyed and not much new building is yet above ground, there is much room for critics and calumnies. To this may be added, that we still are pestered by two parties; the aristocratic, which is panting for a counter revolution, and the factious, which aims at the division of the empire, and destruction of the authority, and perhaps of the lives, of the reigning branch, both of which parties are fomenting troubles.

And after I have confessed all that, my dear general, I will tell you, with the same candour, that we have made an admirable and almost incredible destruction of all abuses, prejudices, &c.; that every thing not directly useful to, or coming from, the people, has been retrenched; that in the topographical, moral, and political situation of France, we have made

more changes in ten months than the most sanguine patriot could have imagined; that our internal troubles and anarchy are much exaggerated; and that, upon the whole, this revolution, in which nothing will be wanting but energy of government (just as it was in America), will propagate, implant liberty, and make it flourish throughout the world, while we must wait for a convention in a few years to mend some defects which are not now perceived by men scarcely escaped from aristocracy and despotism.

You know that the assembly have adjourned the West India affairs, leaving everything in the actual state—viz., *the ports opened*, as we hear they have been, to American trade; but it was impossible, circumstanced as we are, to take a definitive resolve. On that matter the ensuing legislature will more easily determine, after they have received the demands of the colonies, who have been invited to make them, particularly on the object of *victualling*.

Give me leave, my dear general, to present you with a picture of the Bastile, just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key of that fortress of despotism. It is a tribute which I owe, as a son, to my adoptive father,—as an aide-de-camp, to my general,—as a missionary of liberty, to its patriarch.

Adieu, my beloved general; my most affectionate respects wait on Mrs. Washington; present me most affectionately to George, to Hamilton, Knox, Harrison, Jay, and all friends.

Most tenderly and respectfully, your most affectionate and filial friend.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO THE KING BY GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

April 14, 1790.*

SIRE,—Your Majesty has deigned to assure me of your confidence and inclination to follow my counsels, and demanded lately my ideas on the royal prerogative.

It is delightful for me, Sire, while combating at the same time two factions vehement against me,—on one side, the enemies of liberty, of the constitution, and all those who regret prejudices or would profit by abuses; on the other, the enemies of monarchical unity and of the reigning branch, and those who, from exaggerated and criminal views, foment disorders,—it is delightful for me, I say, during this double and perilous contest, to think that the interest of the people and of the king are the same, that their mutual engagements are sacred, and that therefore all my duties and feelings are in unison.

I entreat the king to read over the memorial that I presented to him during the first days of his residence in Paris; my principles, opinions, and counsels, must at present be the same.

I believe, Sire, that the constitution, disengaged from its ordinary laws, offers the following subjects:—

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

It must be confined to an announcement of principles: *national conventions* are the only means of correcting abuses without each legislature risking a complete overthrow.

* At the bottom of this memorial is written, in the king's hand,—I have read with attention the memorial of M. de Lafayette; I adopt its principles and basis, and although the application of some of those principles be somewhat vague, I think I may feel perfectly reassured in that respect from the loyalty of his character and his attachment to me.

I promise, therefore, to M. de Lafayette, to place the most entire confidence in everything that relates to the establishment of the constitution, my legitimate authority, as specified in the memorial, and the restoration of public tranquillity.

(Signed) LOUIS.

When the king had written these words on the memorial remaining in his hands, he placed in my hand the duplicate of his engagement, signed by himself, I returned it to him, respectfully saying, that his word was sufficient.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

LEGISLATIVE POWER.

Under the ancient institutions, Sire, a minister presented in council a law framed in the committee; that law, delivered up to the parliaments, to the states, compromised the name of the king even before the wants or wishes of the public were made known to him. At present the decree, discussed in his vicinity by the deputies of all the cantons, will be submitted to his *veto*, or sanction; if he accept it, he gathers the fruit without being responsible for the inconveniences that may attach to it; if he reject it, he has on his side the adversaries of the projected law, and the nation to whom he refers, without driving to desperation those who supported it; the suspensive *veto* is as efficacious as the English *veto*, and may be employed without danger.

As regards the taxes, the proportion of the subsidies to the wants, the faithful application of the money, and the extinction of abuses, are what most interests the king; he will no longer have to cope with resistance, or to bear the odium of new taxes; he will be charged with employing all the funds, and he will surely prefer a sum being fixed for the whole period of his reign, sufficient for the splendour of his throne, and all his expenses, without communicating with the ministers or using the public treasure.

The ministers, Sire, must belong to the legislative assembly, and the conditions must be multiplied which only permit the law to form itself after a mature deliberation.

JUDICIAL ORDER.

Each court, self-entitled sovereign, accepted and interpreted the law according to its own judgment. The hereditary offices had annulled nomination. The king's emissaries acted in his name against his wish, the nation supported parliamentary opposition; in a word, the magistracy was independent of the king, who was himself dependent on it.

At present the proceedings, or at least criminal ones, will be under the protection of juries; the tribunals, instead of being necessarily hostile to the royal authority, will become its guardians, because it will be fixed by that law the application of which will be their sole occupation. And how is it possible that the rights of the crown should not be defended by the law, when the latter must secure to each individual an efficacious protection against the enterprises of all powers and all coalitions? The king will remain the supreme chief of justice, with the right of granting pardon, except in certain cases that have been specified in all times.

ADMINISTRATION.

The new division of the kingdom secures the unity of the monarchy, and destroys the pretensions of the provinces; all the administrative bodies are subordinate to the king. The decisions of those bodies, especially on every subject relating to the general administration, can only be executed with his approbation, which renders the relations, established with the administrations of departments and of districts, the same as those established by MM. Necker and Brienne.

Whatever may be the regulations of internal police, it suffices for the king that every legal command of his be obeyed; that resistance be punished; that he and his subordinates maintain the good order which he is especially charged by the constitution to preserve, and that all citizens be interested in taking measures to secure it.

We may remark that in England a great number of the acts of administration require the ratification of the legislative body, whilst in France the exercise, in detail, of those same acts, is independent of that body.

ARMY AND NAVY.

I should have wished some modifications in the decrees concerning the army. As to the question on the right of destitution, it is not a new one; the mandates of the nobility are unanimous and decisive on that point.

The precautions taken for liberty are nearly the same here as in England, and the organization, the command, and the movement for the defence of the state, belong especially to the executive power. It must be a matter of indifference to the king whether the internal police be made by regular troops, or by marshalships, or by national guards, and whether the troops be summoned by a civil or military officer; but it is necessary that all the land and naval forces be under his command, and obey him with that exact discipline which the intrigues of the generals and ministers, the pretensions of colonels, and all privileged military men, have never hitherto allowed.

NATIONAL GUARDS.

All citizens able to bear arms must be enrolled; it would be absurd if the whole army were under military discipline; but the armed men whom it may be necessary to assemble in the interior of a department must be under the inspection of administrative bodies, which are subordinate to the king, and no citizen will be allowed to unite several of those commands.

No command can exist but with the intervention of the legislative body to enforce or form the armies commanded by the king, and the armed nation must always have the king for its supreme chief.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Some decrees on this subject may offer to the king vast means of encouraging talent, of rendering himself dear to the people, and of making the kingdom flourish.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Whatever may be, in principle, the right of a representative assembly respecting the questions of peace and war, I think that our geographical position, and the actual state of Europe, oblige it to refer them to the king's council. I am aware that my opinion on this subject will be disputed; but the assembly should limit itself to some conditions relating to the registry of treaties, commercial regulations, the augmentation or transfer of territory,—rights that the parliaments even reclaim; and my advice is also that the king should have the complete direction of political negotiations.

It is in this manner, Sire, that the various portions of the constitution may be formed into one chapter of functions and royal prerogatives, of which the result would be as follows:—

1st. The French government is monarchical.

2nd. The throne is indivisible.

3rd. The crown is hereditary in the reigning branch from male to male.

4th. The king is the chief of the nation: his person is sacred and inviolable; an attempt against him is a crime of treason against the nation. All that the nation gains in power and prosperity adds to the greatness of its chief.

5th. The king participates in the legislative power; he accepts or refuses; his refusal causes a suspension during three legislatures. The laws are sealed by him, published in his name, and addressed by his orders to administrative bodies and tribunals.

6th. The executive power resides in the hands of the king; he selects their ministers and agents.

7th. The king is the head of justice, which is executed in his name; he inspects the tribunals for the maintenance of the constitution, laws, and judicial discipline.

8th. The king is the dispenser of the treasure intended for the service of the general administration, of which he commands and regulates the expenses, conformably to the dispositions established by law.

9th. The king is the depositor of public force for the defence of the state, and disposes consequently of the troops, fortifications, and magazines.

10th. The king is the preserver of the interests of the kingdom in their external relations. To him are entrusted the political negotiations, and the choice of all the agents of foreign affairs.

11th. The king is the chief of the general administration of the interior of the kingdom. All administrative bodies are under his inspection and authority; he acts through them over the national guards, when the latter are in a state of activity. Every new act of administration must be authorized by him. He directs all the branches of public instruction, conformably to the principles established by law.

12th. The king is the source of pardons and honours; he grants letters of pardon, distributes recompences, decorations, and extraordinary promotions. All hereditary advantages, which depend neither on the nation nor on him, are abolished.

It appears to me, Sire, that, in this situation, a king of the French, powerful externally from the whole force of the nation, invested internally with all means of doing good and arresting evil, tranquil and free as regards his private enjoyments, cannot, when endowed with the virtues of your Majesty, regret that opulence of power which was exercised in his name in an arbitrary manner, and which the nation never ceased envying him and contesting with him.

But who will say this truth to him? Will it be ministers or clerks, who are alarmed by the idea of responsibility, who created, formerly, for themselves a kingdom out of each department, and whose operations were often an equal mystery to the nation and to the king? Will it be the courtiers or servants of the king, for whom depredations were become so completely patrimonial, that they fancied themselves exonerated from all gratitude? Will it be the magistrates who possessed from inheritance the right of judging us?

Will it be the financiers who enriched themselves at the expense of the public treasure?

Will it be those families who, from their nobility, enjoyed rights independent of the king, and who had so completely monopolized places, pensions, and the army, that it was no longer in the power of the monarch to grant a voluntary favour?

No, Sire; and yet such are the persons by whom you and the queen are surrounded, who endeavour to confound the situation of your Majesty with their own, and who veil their pre-

judices or interests by false expressions of pity for the people,—that is to say, for the nation, of whom the revolution has secured the rights and happiness.

As to myself, Sire, after having professed my principles, I must add that I perceive for the king but one means of safety.

I said formerly to your Majesty, that you only risked before the 4th of February your throne and person; at this present moment you are bound by honour.

But during this necessary progress, we have two evils to avoid: on one side, the efforts of the discontented, whose success would have rendered the king subservient to the heavy yoke of the aristocracy, but who can only now produce massacres, and even if that division of opinion were to commence in one corner of the empire, the victory, whether more or less sanguinary, would remain to the irresistible party of the people, and, at farthest, one portion of France would be dismembered to increase some neighbouring power. This is the most the opposition could obtain, even by a foreign war.

On the other side, I perceive the Orleanist faction augmented by all the personal enemies of the king and queen, and by all those who wish to establish in France a confederation of republics. This party comprises many inconsiderate persons, who are deceived and misled, and foreign treasures are employed to strengthen it.

The union of the people and king drive to despair the one party, because, possessing no longer any chance whatever by themselves, they wish that the king would risk with them the chance of one against a thousand; the other, because, separating liberty from the king, they would deprive your Majesty of the assistance of all good citizens.

I must declare to the king that the circumstances are too difficult, too dangerous, and too urgent, for his own safety and that of the public, to be secured by half measures and half confidences.

Your Majesty is acquainted with my principles; should you find in another person, views, measures, and character, that correspond better with your own, you should place your entire confidence in him. Should you refer to me, it must be without reserve; and while I promise to make every effort to secure the basis that I have just established, I require, to ally the interests of the liberty of the nation and of the king, to find in your Majesty unvarying confidence.

If I possess that confidence, Sire, I may rationally expect success; or I shall, at least, feel convinced that no other person

could have obtained it better, and that precious deposit of the confidence of your Majesty I will restore to you with as much gratitude as respect, the day on which, the constitution being achieved, the new legislature, the judicial order, and a respectable ministry established, I may be allowed to execute the project I announced a long time ago to your Majesty, and recently to the assembly.

If, on the contrary, I do not obtain that confidence, so honourable and at the same time so necessary, I do not say that I shall quit my post; but I affirm to your Majesty that my zeal will be continually thwarted by obstacles and considerations of every kind.

I entreat the king to recognise in this memorial the frankness of a man who never experienced one sentiment he was embarrassed at avowing, and who unites to an unshaken constancy of principle an ardent love for his country, and sentiments of the most pure attachment to your Majesty.

Friday, ...

I HAVE nothing satisfactory to tell you. The queen delays our conversations; she flatters herself, and consequently her husband, whom she guides at will, with chimeras. A well-founded report is current of proposals made by M. Laqueuille to the deputation of Bordeaux, to receive the royal family. An original letter of Laqueuille remains in their hands, written the day before the proposal, which says that the queen would be delighted to see them. It was M. de Latour du Pin who presented Paoli; I fortunately arrived in time to prevent any foolish things being said to him.* The projects of Maillebois, that affair of Bordeaux, and even the rapid journeys

* The 22nd of April, General Paoli, with a Corsican deputation, was received by the constituent assembly. All the papers of the time denounced M. de Maillebois as author of a plan of counter-revolution, combined with the court of Turin by means of M. Bonne de Savardin. This letter must be the end of April, 1798.

of the son of M. de La Vauguyon,* awaken suspicions against that ambassador, of whom I receive from Spain the most faithful accounts, and whose conduct and household are undoubtedly bad. Under this circumstance, there is nothing but the king's giving himself up completely to us that can save the public from a civil war, of which the probabilities are greater at present from the aristocrats preserving some hope, and from factious persons taking advantage of it to disorganize the whole game. You have often preached to me extreme deference for the king and queen, which was needless, for my disposition leads me to respect them since their misfortunes; but believe that they would have been better served, and the public also, by a man of a sterner character. They are but grown up children, who will only swallow salutary medicines when spectres are spoken of. Do not believe that I am capable of acting with indelicacy for the sake of governing; we shall always be of one opinion as regards matters of that kind. Adieu, until eight o'clock to-morrow. I rejoice at your affection; but I feel that for the next six months I shall have apologies to make to all those who endure the torment of loving me. Speak of me to all the animate and inanimate things that recal to you those happy days I am most anxious to see renewed.

.....

I SHALL not see you to-day, for I have but one hour for all my writings. You were right in pitying me for having a council so ill-assorted as that

* De La Vauguyon, minister plenipotentiary to Madrid, was replaced, in 1790, by M. Bourgoing.

of the king. The queen and he are full of distrust and aristocratical sentiments; the ministers make lamentations, mutually render each other justice, and would allow the strongest executive power to expire. The assembly is divided into twelve or fifteen parties. For my Easter fortnight I have an Orleanist president, my quarrel with the Duport party, the priests at confessional, the parliaments in the districts, the counter-revolution of M. de Maillebois, which excites all minds,* a plan of pillage for the discount bank, the district and commons devouring each other, the civil and military in contention, the army uncertain of its own fate, the contest of the judicial projects, thirty thousand starving workmen, M. Necker packing up his trunks,† the Viscount de Mirabeau and company, who pay for aristocratical libels, and who, the abbé de Montesquiou told me, would give themselves up to the most incredible excesses, if they could ——. Am I not in an enviable situation?—I who am acting, according to the expression of Mirabeau, the part of *Cromwell-Grandison*. In the meantime I went, in obedience to your command, to the church in which the queen was performing her Easter ceremonies. She seemed pleased with that attention. I spoke to the king of the project; they have persuaded him it was a fine act of policy. I shall see to-morrow Saint Priest and Montmorin. Adieu until to-morrow.

I have not been to the Jacobins, and I cannot go there alone; but eighty-nine do not constitute a

* The aim of this project was, it was said, to carry off the king and queen, and convey them to Lyons. M. de Maillebois, denounced by a servant, had taken to flight the 22nd of March. A proceeding at the châtelet ensued.

† M. Necker only departed in the month of September. This letter was written in the month of April, 1790.

party.* I think I ought to occupy myself with the constitution and public order, independent of the intrigues of clubs. I shall see you early this evening.

FROM M. PELLENC, SECRETARY OF MIRABEAU, TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

On quitting you, I immediately repaired to the assembly. M. de Mirabeau was not there. I sent for a deputy from Marseilles; and I learnt that the dismissal until Tuesday had just been pronounced in the following manner.† As it was proposed to fix the order of the day, M. d'André demanded that the deputies from Marseilles should be heard. One of them told the assembly that, Marseilles having obeyed the last decree, and the rumour of a continuation of demolition being false, it was less important than they conceived to accelerate the report of that affair. It is to come on, however, this evening, after a report on the town of Nîmes. I apprized M. de Mirabeau of your intentions; he will inform you of his on the affair of Marseilles in the com-

* This passage may perhaps contain some allusion to the patriotic society founded, the 18th of May, by MM. Bailly, General Lafayette, Mirabeau, Chapelier, Talleyrand, Sièyes, &c. &c.

† The dismissal of the debates on the troubles that had broken out at Marseilles the end of April. (See on this, the meeting of the 20th of May.) The part of defender of order which belonged to General Lafayette, and that of apologist of the people of Marseilles, which Mirabeau assumed, brought on some discussions between them, which disturbed the harmony that circumstances had rendered necessary, and that had subsisted during the debate on the right of peace and war. We insert this letter as a proof of that harmony and subsequent dissension.

mittee of La Rochefoucauld. But he cannot consent to Marseilles being implicated in any respect, and he gave me very good reasons for this determination. This was one amongst others; that MM. Lameth and Barnave must not be allowed to propose a more favourable decree, which would increase their influence in Marseilles. You will discuss, however, this subject with M. de Mirabeau.

I remain, with respect, &c.

M. Ramond informed me, the other day, that you wished to speak to me on the projected labour relating to the assemblage of the constitutional articles. I shall have the honour of repairing to your house, when you are so kind as to apprize me of the hour that would suit you.

M. de Mirabeau will go this evening to the committee of La Rochefoucauld. I forgot to tell him that I had informed you that he intended speaking against M. de Saint-Priest. I beg you will give him an opportunity of making you acquainted himself with his opinion, that he may not imagine I wished to conceal from him this part of our conference.

TO M. DE BOUILLÉ.

May 20th, 1790.

I CANNOT express to you, my dear cousin, with what pleasure I received your letter, and embraced your son. Believe, that if I love above all, liberty, and the principles of our constitution, my second wish, and a very ardent one, is for the restoration of order and tranquillity, and the establishment of public force. Unfortunately, there are still men in the

aristocratical party who hope to gain, or to revenge themselves, by confusion; and we have some in the popular party who persuade themselves that the measures of the revolution are those that suit the constitution; they may have, perhaps, even still more factious views. A question lately arose on peace and war, which separated our party, in a very marked manner, into monarchists and republicans; we were the strongest, but this and many other circumstances prove that the friends of public good cannot unite too firmly; and since you feel no repugnance to espouse our constitution, let us serve it, my dear cousin, with all our power, discarding everything that could disturb the happiness and tranquillity of our fellow-citizens, from whatever side that attempt may proceed. My letter will be delivered to you by M. de Ternant, who is charged with negotiations with the German princes, proprietors in Alsace: he is my intimate friend, and you may speak to him with confidence on all public matters. I expect your son this morning, and it is with extreme satisfaction that I see our ties of friendship strengthened.

May 25, 1790.

You send me very delightful notes, and I rejoice for you rather than for myself in the inviolability of my person. We are tranquil to-day, thanks to some vigorous precautions, and the efforts of ill-disposed persons shall be again defeated by the phlegmatic barrier I oppose to them.* You ask me what occurred yesterday; it is this: A man, accused of

* Period of the debates on the right of peace and war.

having stolen a bag of oats, was seized by the people on the side of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois; the guard wished to conduct him to the châtelet, but a numerous band, partly composed of vagabonds, increased each moment in numbers around him. The quays were completely filled. The cavalry patrol and volunteers could not force through the crowd, in which several men, armed with bludgeons, were beating the thief to death. I was returning home in a carriage by the gate, when I was informed of this circumstance. Romeuf alone was with me, and in spite of the earnest entreaties of all the citizens, we drove forward as far as possible. We then descended, and, crossing the patrol, we threw ourselves into the midst of the crowd. One man raised his bludgeon against Romeuf, who was dragging the corpse from him; I stood astride across the dead body, and told those men that they were assassins, and that, as I could not believe they were all guilty, I called on them to designate the culprits. Some national guards, who had followed me, pointed out one man, whom I seized by the collar, exclaiming, "I will shew you that every function is honourable when we execute law." I held my man by the collar, in spite of his screams, until we reached the châtelet. The patrol of the national guards pressed around us, and wished not to leave me alone; but, on coming out of the châtelet I ordered them to move further off, and mounting on the parapet, was surrounded by the people, to whom I again entrusted myself, and reproached them in the severest manner for their conduct; I told them they were the dupes of factious men and robbers, who wished to force the national assembly and king to quit Paris, to put the town in combustion, but that the tranquillity and property of the capital were placed under

my protection; that I would crush all those who should dare to disturb public order; that I should be supported; but that, were I alone, I would resist crime, and make law respected until my latest breath; that I did not believe any men existed bold enough to attack me personally. During this time, some of the mob were hanging up, at the other end of the quay, my robber, whom I had left from fancying he was dead. Romeuf and I flew to the spot; the national guards threw themselves with us into the midst of the people, and we succeeded in saving him, for he will finally recover. I then recommenced my oration, and ordered them to separate, which they did, exclaiming, "Vive Lafayette!"

This was my little adventure yesterday. The property of my friends depended on my throw of the die; but if my life belong to those friends, I am also bound to duty,—and I think I have accomplished an important object.

TO THE KING.

May 26th, 1790.*

The king has permitted me to propose to him the measures I conceive most useful to his private interest and the public good. I must observe to him that nothing is unimportant in a moment of revolution; that trifling things often produce great effects, and short delays irreparable evils.

The king feels that nothing can be done but by and for liberty and the people; his heart and reason equally convince him of this truth. Every other system would oblige those who are serving him to

* Iron Cupboard, No. 355.

retire,—to begin with myself. But to disconcert the factious, and prevent plots which good citizens shudder to think of, the king must not neglect any means of obtaining popularity.

The national guard would be extremely gratified at being seen by the king. If after he has risen on Sunday he would be pleased to see three divisions at the Champ de Mars, and the three others the following Sunday, it would produce the best possible result. The king might also see, on each of those days, a division of cavalry.

It is announced that the king would refuse horses to any chief of division, except M. de Courtomer, because the latter has been presented. It is very important that M. de Goursac should give them to the chief of division who may present himself.

Will the king deign to declare the abolition of proofs for the presentation at court? That regulation was formerly blamed, and is at present inconsistent. An order, carefully revised, from the king on this subject, would produce an excellent effect.

I entreat the king not to lose sight of the idea of ordering, himself, the demolition of the dungeon of Vincennes, when he drives out that way.

The king has resolved in council, that a proclamation should be made of the national cockade. I venture to submit to him the project that I communicated to M. Necker and to the keeper of the seals.

I entreat the king to pardon my importunity. I would give the last drop of my blood to save him from the dangers to which he is exposed from factions, as I would have given it to secure the freedom of my country. But I am now so earnest, because I reproach myself towards the king with not having sufficiently urged my former solicitations. Our situation is a critical one. I am certain we shall

succeed if the king deign to believe me; but in all times he shall perceive that I do not fear compromising myself; and I conjure him to deign to lend me his assistance relating to those subjects which are interesting to him, by doing all that depends on himself.

I venture to ask the king's permission to present my opinions in this form, because I believe it more convenient to the king, and that I can, in this manner, depose in the breast of his majesty the counsels he permitted me to give, and recal the period in which I would have submitted them to the king.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(ORIGINAL.)

New York, June 3rd, 1790.

MY DEAR MARQUIS,—Your kind letter of the 12th of January is, as your letters always are, very acceptable to me. By some chance its arrival has been retarded to this time. Conscious of your friendly dispositions for me, and realizing the enormous burden of public business with which you were oppressed, I felt no solicitude but that you should progress directly forward, and happily effect your great undertakings. How much, my dear marquis, how sincerely, I am rejoiced to find that things are assuming so favourable a prospect in France. Be assured that you always have my best and most ardent wishes for your success, and that if I have not troubled you with letters of late, it is because I had nothing very essential to communicate to you, and because I know how much better your time was employed than in answering letters merely of a private nature.

You have doubtless been informed, from time to time, of the happy progress of our affairs. The principal difficulties which opposed themselves in any shape to the prosperous execution of our government seem, in a great measure, to have been surmounted, as good temper prevails among our citizens. Rhode Island now just acceded to the constitution, and has then united under the general government all the states of the original confederation. Vermont, we hope, will soon come within the pale of the union. Two new states exist under the immediate direction of the general government, viz., that at the head of which is General St. Clair, and that which consists of the territory lately ceded by the state of North Carolina.

Our government is now happily carried into operation. Although some thorny questions still remain, it is to be hoped that the wisdom of those concerned in the national legislature will dispose of them prudently. A funding system is one of the subjects which occasions most anxiety and perplexity, yet our revenues have been considerably more productive than it was imagined they would be; in the last year the plentiful crops and great price of grain have vastly augmented our remittances; the rate of exchange is also much in our power. Importations of European goods have been uncommonly extensive, and the duties payable into the public treasure proportionably so. Our trade to the West Indies flourishes; the profits to individuals are so considerable as to induce more persons to engage in it continually. A single vessel just arrived in this port pays 30,000 dollars to government. Two vessels fitted out for the free trade to the northwest coast of America have succeeded well. The whole outfits of vessels and cargoes cost but 7,000

dollars. One is returning home loaded with Indian produce; the other going back to the coast of America, and they have deposited 100,000 dollars of their profits in China. I mention this to shew the spirit of enterprise that prevails. I hope and trust our commerce with the West India islands, belonging to different nations, which are at present of no great consequence, will shortly be placed upon a better footing. As the people of this country are sensible of the generous conduct of the French nation, I can with great satisfaction give it as my decided opinion that the most friendly dispositions prevail on our side of the water towards that nation.

Many of your old acquaintances and friends are concerned with me in the administration of this government. By having Mr. Jefferson at the head of the department of the state, Mr. Jay, of the judiciary, Hamilton, of the treasury, and Knox, of that of war, I feel myself supported by able coadjutors, who harmonize extremely well together. I believe that the other appointments, generally, have given satisfaction to the public. Poor Colonel Harrison, who was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court and declined, has lately died.

I had a few days since a severe attack of the pneumonery kind, but am now recovered, except in point of strength. My physicians advise to more exercise, and less application; I cannot, however, avoid persuading myself that it is essential to accomplish whatever I have undertaken, though reluctantly, to the best of my ability; but it is thought congress will have a recess this summer, in which time I propose going for awhile to Mount Vernon.

TO THE KING.

June 5th, 1790.*

I HAVE the honour of sending to the king the copy of the decree relating to the civil list; I shall take the liberty of submitting to him to-morrow my reflections on that subject. It is, in every respect, proper that this affair should be promptly terminated.

Some members of the military committee form projects in the dark. I conversed this morning with some persons who view the subject as I do, and they think that, to calm the zeal of these framers of projects, M. de La Tour du Pin ought to write this very evening to the committees and demand a conference for Monday, that the subject may be discussed with them.

This measure will not compromise the king, who may take any step to-morrow in council, and it will suspend the activity of some members of the committee, who would be occupied during the meeting this evening in laying plans, instead of waiting for the Monday conference, if it be announced to them this evening at about six o'clock.

The desire I feel that the committee should not exceed its constitutional functions, which would give a bad example to future legislatures, makes me solicit that that letter, which only promises a conversation, should be sent to-day.

* In this letter, extracted from the Iron Cupboard, No. 352, will be seen my desire to be useful to the king in all that was not contrary to my ideas of liberty and of the constitutional spirit.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

TO THE KING

Friday.*

I HAVE the honour of sending to the king an answer with which I have been charged by General Paoli, and which I take the liberty of joining to the notes that the king deigned to ask me for upon the ideas I might entertain.

I will insert to-morrow in the order, if the king approve of it, the review which he intends to hold on Sunday week.

M. de Mirabeau brought forward to-day the motion, and the assembly passed the decree I here subjoin. It has since occurred to the members, that a court-mourning had been ordered for Saturday. I am sure that the king would much gratify the assembly, if his minister were to write to the president:—

"That the king, learning with satisfaction the homage rendered by the assembly to the memory of Mr. Franklin, and not choosing that it should be confounded with the court-mourning appointed for Saturday, has *suspended* for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, or (what would be still better) has *put off* the mourning for the electress, that nothing may interfere with the just proof of respect that the representatives of the nation have given to the memory of Franklin."

I will arrange this matter with M. de Saint Priest if the king deign to give orders for that purpose.

M. de Saint Priest might add a few words expressive of the regret and personal feelings of kindness of the king for Mr. Franklin.

* This letter is of the 11th of June. At the meeting that day, the assembly, on the proposal of Mirabeau, decreed that they would wear mourning for three days for the death of Franklin.

TO THE KING.*

June 19th, 1790.

I WAS not sufficiently certain whether Madame de Lafayette had not the measles, to present myself to the king. I feel secure on that point this evening, and may pay my court to him at the review.

I entreat the king to give me his commands respecting the hour of his arrival.

My attachment for the king, and the earnest desire I feel of preventing everything that would produce a bad effect, force me to insist on a point that may appear to him minute, but that circumstances and the state of the public mind render *very important;* this is, that the king, instead of appearing at the review in his usual riding dress, should wear his review dress. I entreat the king to believe that I would not make this request if I did not think it of great consequence. He will deign to excuse the liberty I take, in consideration of the sentiments of affection and respect which have occasioned it.

TO THE KING.†

I SAW this evening M. Necker, M. de Montmorin, and afterwards the keeper of the seals; we conversed on the debate which took place in the king's council relating to the decree of the 19th. Some information which I gave those gentlemen, and the important reflections to which it gave birth, made us consider it very essential to receive fresh orders

* Iron Cupboard, No. 353.

† From Cupboard, No. 354. See note of page 452 of this volume.

from the king. I entreat him to delay sending his answer until he has seen M. de Montmorin.

I entreat the king to receive the expressions of my regret at not being able to pay my court to him.

TO M. DE BOUILLÉ.

June 26th, 1790.

I HAD promised myself, my dear cousin, to write to you by your son, but my morning has been taken up by five or six quarrels that they have endeavoured to excite, to trouble our tranquillity, and try whether the 14th of July could not become an opportunity of making confusion. I hope that we shall prove stronger than those who torment us, amongst whom I assign the first place to the factious party of which your son will give you a detailed account. The Duke of Orleans announces his arrival for the 10th; I still rely on his cowardice to detain him in London. The proposals for the army will appear next week; we are promised the choice of an exact discipline, of which we are in great need. We have learnt the movements that the enemies of the revolution have excited in Languedoc; those do not spring, like the tumults of Paris, Marseilles, and other places, from the Orleanist party; they will, in all probability, produce no result. The epoch of the 14th of July, although rather a critical one, will apparently turn out well. *Constitution and public order* must be the rallying cry of all good citizens; and this is a fine opportunity of proving our devotion to the cause.

I was much delighted with your letter, my dear cousin, and my heart replies to it with a friendship and confidence that shall last as long as my life.

TO THE KING.*

Dated by the King, Sunday, June 27th, 1790,
Iron Cupboard, No. 109.

SIRE,—I am much touched by the kindness with which your Majesty entered with me into fresh details respecting the decree of the 19th; the first fault belongs to the members of the assembly, beginning with myself, who, being present at that meeting, might have asked for a more rationally framed decree. I endeavoured to repair the evil by offering your Majesty an opportunity which but seldom occurs, of changing, from observations made by the king, proposals which appeared very popular, to the entire satisfaction of the public. But since the king has not judged proper to adopt this course, I will now try, if it be possible, to bring forward some explanatory decree which will prevent a rigorous observance of the former one. I will therefore request

* The letter, dated June 27th, Sunday, of which the protocol is not that which Lafayette employed in his other letters, appears to have undergone some alteration. The principal points of it are, however, true. Lafayette and his friends had only intended, in the sitting of the 19th of June, to declare that there was no longer any hereditary nobility in France, and that every act bearing the stamp of nobility or feudality would become void. The absolute order not to make use of arms or liveries was proposed by Noailles and several of his colleagues; the next day, some deputies conversing with Condorcet on the decree of the night before, the latter remarked that the injunction of only bearing one's paternal name, and the regulations on arms and liveries, were contrary to the spirit of freedom, and that to establish a better system of equality, it was necessary to say that, as all those distinctions did not constitute individual property, every person was allowed to use those he pleased on the coat of his servant, or his seal. In consequence of this idea,

the keeper of the seals to present the answer rather late at the meeting.

I conjure his Majesty to accept my warm gratitude for the confidence he deigns to express in me, and the justice he renders to my feelings; I shall be devoted to him until my latest breath from gratitude and warm affection.

I am, with respect, Sire, your Majesty's very humble, very obedient servant, and faithful subject, &c.

FROM M. DE LA LUZERNE TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

London, July 4th.

BOINVILLE has related to you, my dear Marquis, all that had occurred previous to his departure; every thing was going on as well as possible; but a slight event has happened since, in which I think I conducted myself as prudence demanded; but as it is possible to be mistaken, in a matter that may be looked at in various points of view, I thought I must

some members of the committee of constitution drew up a new form of decree, equally destructive of all pretensions of nobility, but more conformable to individual liberty, Lafayette was requested to obtain a suspension of the sanction: he repaired to the keeper of the seals, who requested him, in a natural manner, to address himself directly to the king. We see by the works of M. Necker, what was already well known, that the subject was debating in council; that Necker wished to suspend the sanction; that he blamed not only the precipitation of the party who had adopted it, but its concealed motives. It was, in fact, only that the decree might contain defects that it was so hastily sanctioned, and it appears that Lafayette's note was kept in reserve to compromise him at the proper time. He was ignorant of the motives which were concealed under the semblance of confidence in a letter from the king, when he wrote the answer which only hastened the sanction of the decree.—(Note of General Lafayette.)

immediately despatch a courier to you, that you might be enabled to disconcert the measures that may be taken in the assembly by the friends, or rather partisans, of the Duke of Orleans, and present, under a favourable point of view, a thing that I conceived it necessary to grant, because I considered that it could only produce a good effect on the minds of all rational men. All this can only be, however, an additional precaution; for the Duke of Orleans has given me his word that he would make no other use of the explanation of the writing I gave him, than sending you a copy of it in the letter he should write to you, and that he merely looked upon it as the means of shewing one day to his friends, that he had remained in England solely from the fear of occasioning troubles in Paris, but that cowardice had not governed, in any manner, his conduct.

Two hours after the departure of Boinville, the prince came to seek me, and this is nearly what he said to me:—"I am willing to sacrifice myself for the public good; but I am so much grieved at thinking that people who know me now, and will know me eventually, should all be convinced that I only give up the project I had formed, and publicly announced in France and England, of being in Paris the 14th of July, from motives of fear and personal weakness, and not from sentiments of attachment to my king and country; that, notwithstanding the engagement I made, three days ago, with you, notwithstanding the dangers to which I shall be individually exposed, I prefer setting out this moment for Paris (arriving there, perhaps, before M. de Boinville, or at least before any steps have been taken in the assembly,) to remaining in England in this very painful situation. I shall remain, however, if you will lend yourself to a temporizing measure,

which at this moment would reconcile me to myself, and would serve, perhaps, to justify my conduct afterwards to my friends."

After this fine preamble, the amiable prince drew from his pocket a note, apparently hastily written, but which was, in reality, very adroit, and which I therefore knew to be the work of Laclos.* That note was a true statement of some parts of our conversation in presence of Boinville, and the conclusion most easily drawn from it was, that he had wished to alarm the prince by chimerical dangers, but that what had, in fact, persuaded him to remain in England, were the observations I had made to prove to him that his return to France might excite great confusion.

I refused, as you may readily believe, to certify such a writing, telling him that I would undoubtedly confirm all that had passed between us, when circumstances required it, but that was the time for doing it, and that, for his own honour and glory, the worst effect would be produced, by what had passed in our conversation of the morning being made public.

It would be too long, and also needless, my dear Marquis, to repeat to you all the Duke of Orleans said to me, either to affect me by a statement of his situation, or to convince me that he would set out if I did not give him the means of reconciling him to himself. I was not, as you may believe, carried away by my feelings, nor was I much alarmed at the project of instant departure for France, although I believed that Laclos might succeed in persuading

* Choderlos de Laclos, secretaire des commandemens du duc D'Orleans, and author of a romance entitled *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, died a general of brigade, in 1803.

him to take this step if I refused to grant him complete satisfaction; but other reflections induced me to give him the writing, of which I send you a copy. I have, perhaps, done wrong; but I hope you will be convinced that it was an error of judgment, not want of interest in your concerns and fame.

I thought, in the first place, that whenever the Duke of Orleans should affirm that Boinville and I called upon him, and represented, in your name, that ill-intentioned persons might make use of his name, on his arrival in Paris, to excite confusion there, it would be impossible for us to refuse attesting that fact. I did not perceive any great difference between the certainty of being able to obtain such a certificate when he pleased, or the having it really in his possession.

I also somewhat feared, I acknowledge, that despair would induce him to go to Paris, and that he would set out in spite of our precautions. You know that the despair of cowards is sometimes dangerous. I thought that we obtained, in fact, what we wished, since we prevented his going to Paris, which was our sole aim, and that we might miss it if I were too decided on this occasion. I thought also that, at the moment when all Paris was in consternation at the idea of the prince's arrival, they would feel much obliged to you for having sent him a friendly counsel to remain in London; and that, to prevent mischievous persons from taking advantage, one day, of my note, you might immediately relate to your friends, and even enemies, the mission of Boinville, and yourself make public all that is inserted in the writing I gave the Duke of Orleans. In short, after having weighed carefully the for and against, and written the certificate, I thought I could not, by so doing, have acted foolishly. But should I have done

so, I entreat you not to attribute it to want of zeal or of affection, for I shall ever, while I live, feel the warmest friendship for you.

COPY OF THE DOCUMENT GIVEN TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS BY THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

I CERTIFY that I presented to the Duke of Orleans M. de Boinville, aide-de-camp of M. de Lafayette, and that he said, in my presence, to his lordship, that he was sent by his general, who was extremely uneasy about the confusion that might be excited in Paris, at this moment, by ill-intentioned persons, who would not fail taking advantage of the respected name of his royal highness to disturb the tranquillity of the capital, and perhaps of the kingdom; and conjured him, on that account, to delay for some time his return.

The Duke of Orleans, not wishing to give, in the slightest degree, either cause or pretext for disturbing the public tranquillity, has consented, in consequence of the entreaties of M. de Boinville and my own, to defer for some days his departure, which he had fixed for the 3rd of the month, conformably to the letter he wrote to the king the 25th of last June. He had taken this resolution to have time to become acquainted with the wishes of the king and national assembly respecting the line of conduct he must pursue on this occasion.

As M. de Boinville had not given any written document to the Duke of Orleans, the latter requested me to certify the veracity of the above-stated facts.

THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

LETTER SENT BY THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE KING, AND TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

THE 25th of last month I had the honour of writing to the king to announce to his Majesty that I was preparing to proceed immediately to Paris; my letter must have reached M. de Montmorin the 29th of the same month. I had, in consequence, taken leave of the King of England, and fixed my departure for this very afternoon, the 3rd of July; but this morning the French ambassador came to my house, and introduced to me a gentleman who he said was M. de Boinville, aide-de-camp of General Lafayette, sent from Paris by his general, Tuesday the 29th, on a mission to me. M. de Boinville then told me, in presence of the ambassador, that M. de Lafayette entreated me not to repair to Paris, and, amongst several arguments which could not influence my conduct, he made use of one which was of more importance; this was, the disturbances that would be excited by ill-intentioned persons, who would not fail to make use of my name. The summary of that message and conversation is certified by the ambassador of France in a document, of which the original remains in my hands, and of which I here subjoin a copy, signed by myself. I undoubtedly ought not to risk lightly disturbing public tranquillity, and I resolved to suspend, immediately, taking any farther step; but it was in the hope of the national assembly having the kindness, on this occasion, to dictate the line of conduct I ought to pursue; and on the following grounds do I support my demand:—

At the period of my departure for England, it was M. de Lafayette who first proposed to me, in

the king's name, to take charge of the mission his Majesty desired to confide to me. The recital of the conversation he held with me on this subject, is contained in an explanation of my conduct, which I intended only making public after my return to Paris, but which, from this new incident, I take the liberty of publishing immediately, as well as of depositing the original on the desk of the assembly. It will be seen that, amongst the motives that M. de Lafayette made use of, to induce me to accept the mission, one of the principal was, that by my departure ill-intentioned persons would be deprived of all pretexts for employing my name to excite tumultuous movements in Paris, and that he, M. de Lafayette, would have greater facility in maintaining the tranquillity of the capital; and this was one of the considerations that influenced my decision. I accepted that mission, but the capital has by no means been tranquil. And if the promoters of those tumults have not been able to make use of my name to foment them, they have not hesitated to defame it by twenty libels, and to endeavour to render me an object of suspicion.

It is at length time to know who are those ill-intentioned persons, whose projects are always known, without any trace being found that would lead to their discovery, either for punishing or repressing them. It is time to know why my name should serve, rather than any other, as a pretext for popular movements. It is time that that phantom should no longer be presented to me, without any proof being given of its reality.

In the meanwhile, I declare that, since the 25th of last month, my opinion is, that my residence in England can no longer be useful to the interests of the nation and the service of the king; that, consequently, I consider it a duty to resume my func-

tions of deputy in the national assembly; that my private wishes lead me to do so; that the epoch of the 14th of July, from the decrees of the assembly, appear to recal me in a still more imperious manner, and that, unless the assembly should decide to the contrary, and make me acquainted with its decision, I shall persist in my former resolution. I add, that if, against my expectation, the assembly should judge that there is no occasion to deliberate on my request, I shall conceive that they judge that all M. de Boinville said to me, may be considered as void, and that nothing opposes my rejoining the assembly of which I have the honour to be a member.

I request you, sir, after having informed the national assembly of these facts, to deposit on the desk the present account of them, signed by myself, and to solicit the declaration of the assembly on this subject.

I send a copy of the present letter to his Majesty, by M. de Montmorin, and to M. de Lafayette.

(Signed) Ls. PH. D'ORLEANS.

DECLARATION OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

(*Meeting of July 6th*, 1790.)

AFTER what passed between the Duke of Orleans and me in the month of October, and to which I would not have allowed myself to refer, had he not himself brought it before the assembly, I thought I owed it to the Duke of Orleans to inform him that the same reasons, that induced him to accept his mission, might still exist, and that his name would be perhaps employed in an improper manner to dis-

turb public tranquillity, by some of those alarms which I do not partake, but which every good citizen must desire to remove, from a day devoted to confidence and public felicity.

As to M. de Boinville, he had resided in England for six months, and came to pass some days here; and on his return to London, he was charged to tell the Duke of Orleans what I have just repeated to the assembly.

Permit me, gentlemen, to seize this opportunity, as being charged by the assembly with watching over public tranquillity during this grand epoch, of expressing to you my private opinion on the subject. The nearer I see approach the day of the 14th of July, the more confirmed am I in the opinion that it must inspire as much security as satisfaction. This sentiment is, above all, founded on the patriotic dispositions of all the citizens, on the zeal of the Parisian national guard, and of all our brethren in arms, who are arriving from every part of the kingdom; and as the friends of the constitution and of public order have never before been united in such large numbers, we shall be stronger than we have ever been.

APPENDIX.

I.

EXTRACTS FROM TWO REPORTS OF M. DE LAFAYETTE, IN THE NAME OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC GOOD.

December 3rd, 1787.*

"THAT well-known expression of M. de Sully, *that tillage and pasturage are the two breasts of the state*, may with great propriety be applied to Auvergne, whose principal commerce consists in the cultivation of the riches of its soil.

Some general points of view present themselves to us, gentlemen, which are equally common to our manufactures and agriculture. These both require equally being brought to perfection; but how can we excite emulation amongst men overwhelmed by misery, and accustomed to see the fruits of emulation destroyed by taxation in an arbitrary manner? How can sacrifices be proposed to you, and advances to individuals, while it is physically impossible to increase the public burdens, and that the patrimony of the people, far from leaving them the slightest surplus, is barely sufficient for the imposts, and not sufficient for their food? The peasant of Auvergne, also, firm by temper and distrustful from experience, does not like innovation. *Enlighten and encourage* must be our device, and while we hold a just medium between the spirit of system, often contradicted by practice, and the spirit of routine, always in opposition to the progress of the age, we believe that good can only be achieved slowly, that a trifling amelioration is a sufficient recompence for much labour, and that a well-attested truth may still require the aid of persuasion.

We will only speak here of corn to remark the present surfeit of it, and return thanks to the law which permits its exporta-

* The reports of M. de Lafayette, in the name of the Committee of Public Good, have been printed, in 1787, at Clermont-Ferrand, under this title:—"Reports of the Meetings of the Assembly of Auvergne," November, 1787, 1 vol. 4to.

tion; but which would produce more effect, gentlemen, if the province were not so completely forgotten in the distribution of roads, that, on inspecting the port books, we might be tempted to believe that that portion of the kingdom was uninhabited. We therefore see travellers and commerce neglect this central province, which they ought to vivify; the roads of our neighbours vainly touch the barriers that intercept our communication, the mutual correspondence of the towns of the interior is interrupted, and our merchandises are scarcely able to reach, at a great expense, the road or rivers which pass in their neighbourhood. It is in consequence of the labours of the committee, gentlemen, that the assembly may acquire most influence over the state of agriculture and commerce in Auvergne.

Although some ideas have been given us as to the soils, exposure, cultivation, and process of making, that are best suited to our wines, we believe that it is more prudent to trust to private interest, enlightened by the information which your intermediate commission shall be charged to collect with care, and render public by means of the press; but we will not defer giving you an account of the enormous taxes, that destroy this branch of commerce, and reduce its primitive value below the expense of its cultivation. A *francillon* of twenty quarts, sent to Paris, which, including the price of the cask, is sold at most for thirty livres, costs thirteen in transport, or small tolls, three in diminution, two in various expenses, eight at Vichy, sixty-six at the barrier, and if it should not enter Paris it pays eleven livres at Melun, without being exempted from the small duties on the road, and the eight livres of the customs at Vichy; so that, in the first case, the price of it is quadruplicated, and in the second case, more than doubled.

At the word customs, gentlemen, each of you must have already accused, internally, our most cruel foe. But if that devourer of all commerce, placed in the heart of the kingdom, attacks, without exception, every produce of our soil, it is no less destructive to our industry. We will limit ourselves, gentlemen, to the statement of one fact, which has lately occurred. Some ebony, destined for Thiers, which cost 2,000 livres, paid at the different customs 643 livres; its fabrication occasioned a loss of two-fifths, and the manufactured articles paid at the passage of Vichy seven and a half per cent. of their value, without counting the inconveniences which result from the indiscretion, carelessness, and sometimes dishonesty, of the clerk. But to complete this disastrous blockade, it was necessary to intercept our communication with Berry, Touraine, and Orleans. This aim has been but too well achieved by the establishment of a

post at Combronde, which unites to all the injustice of the other customs that of having been placed by useful inadvertence on the territory of Auvergne itself, more than a league from the limits of the cultivated lands. It is very agreeable to us, gentlemen, when thus raising our voices against those monstrous and destructive establishments, to recal to you the grand project which confers honour on the reign of the king, and which he has sealed with his sacred word. The demolition of all the barriers, to the frontiers at least of Lorraine or Alsace, is an operation as easy of execution as desirable. The fiscal interest itself has been able to discover but a slight loss from such a measure, and the administration would derive an immense profit from it. We shall propose to you, gentlemen, to unite our wishes to those of the whole kingdom to solicit the speedy execution of a project already formed, and which is essential to the prosperity of our province.

The hemps of Auvergne are excellent for the cordage of the navy; they supplied, in 1690, 1691, the ports of Brest, Havre, and Rochefort. It would be proper, therefore, to disperse them in the province, and still better to establish rope-walks, to diminish the expenses of transport and gain the emolument of labour. Manufactories of sail cloths might more easily be established, as our threads are sent annually for that purpose into those of Agénois. We recommend making experiments of the kind in some towns by employing invalids and foundlings, each according to his strength, that the labour may not prove useless. Many linen cloths are manufactured in the country, which cannot be too much encouraged and brought to perfection. Some looms distributed under the form of premiums in the elections* would serve to awaken emulation. The right of marking the linens is complained of; this, which ought to be a precaution, is only a restraint; because the measurers, satisfied with levying that small tax, cannot possibly, during the confusion of the fairs, measure the linens, of which the mark besides neither certifies the quality nor quantity.

The utility of sheep not being a doubtful matter, we shall turn our attention to three points—the melioration of the species, the improvement of the land by their means, and the manner of employing wool in the province.

We shall limit ourselves to propose to you to open a subscription for the rams and ewes of Rouergue and Berry, chosen in each election; the province would make the necessary ad-

* The election was a division of territory which assimilates to that of the arrondissement.

vance, take upon itself the expenses of commission, transport, and accidents, and would only demand from the subscribers, whose names would be published, the reimbursement of the price of purchase. The province maintains at this moment, at the veterinary school of Alfort, five pupils, who cost 2,654 livres; it is more essential to render them more useful in the country, as many cattle die owing to the ignorance of the peasants.

When we examine closely the manufacture of cheeses, the raising of cattle, the nature of mountains, and the misery of the people, we can scarcely believe it possible that it has been proposed to increase the price of salt in Auvergne; as if (independent of the faith due to treaties) the slightest augmentation in the price of cheeses would not have destroyed their fabrication; as if, without salt, cattle (to whom it is indispensable) could be fed; as if the pastures of the mountains, once abandoned, could be brought back at will; as if, in short, that great error of the administration would not have sent away the inhabitants for ever.

The vast number of cattle Auvergne possesses naturally leads to the commerce of leather. When one branch of commerce, entering into concurrence with a foreign one, requires an advance of money and long preparations, it is doubtless necessary to awaken emulation, encourage sacrifices, and excite the resources of the labourer. The right of mark, on the contrary, by a daily and unpleasant inquisition, vexes, in an arbitrary manner, both the buyer and seller, the manufacturer, trader, and workman. It is known that the quality of leathers depends on the time they remain in the pits, in which they acquire the consistency, suppleness, and weight, that constitute their value; and the tax imposed according to weight, as if to forbid their perfection, seems establishing a fine where public interest requires that a premium should be established. We shall add that that tax, as immoral as vexatious, is a continual source of fraud and imposture.

The scarcity of wood in the province is more to be lamented because it rarely turns to the advantage of agriculture. It is known that the mountainous districts, at present useless, might be crowned with trees, and offer a branch of commerce more easy than do the greatest number of our forests. We have discussed projects of a division of the woods of the common, and we conceived it more prudent to await the researches of your intermediate commission, and the opinion of all the assemblies of election. The account of the nursery gardens announces to us an annual expense of 11,200 livres, of which the result is

but little satisfactory. Those trees, raised in a good soil, little in request with poor farmers, end by falling into the hands of rich men, are injured on the road, and die in the indifferent soil to which they are transplanted. We propose to you—first, to suppress the places of director and inspector, which cost 1,800 livres, and which your vigilance renders useless; secondly, to disperse as much as possible the nursery grounds in the different elections, adapting the trees to the soil of each canton; thirdly, to charge your intermediate commission with making the necessary regulations; fourthly, to grant, gratuitously and in rotation, trees to the municipalities, who will distribute them to poor proprietors, with the charge of rendering an exact account of them at the assembly of election; fifthly, to charge six sous for the trees you allow to be sold to individuals in easy circumstances, to diminish somewhat the expenses of the establishment; sixthly, not to defer making use of a vast number of mulberry trees ready to be distributed, and which occupy a great space.

The taxes on the manufacture of paper are improved, but they do not suffer less from the tax on consumption, which is levied from the size, without any distinction of quality, and amounts, for the paper of Auvergne, to twenty-five per cent. of its value. Iron ware is not less discouraged by the taxes which are laid on the raw materials; at Thiers, fifty thousand *quintaux* of iron ware, which do not escape the barriers of Gannat or of Vichy, and of which the greatest part had already paid at different customs, such as those of Ingrande, the taxes of *entrance, of subvention, of access, of consumption, of provostship, of concession, of officers and signatures of this place, of the domain of the west, of gage and brokerage, of receipt and formula.* Let us return thanks, gentlemen, to the king, who is kindly occupying himself in breaking these shackles.

If it be necessary, gentlemen, that the depositaries of your confidence should seek to propagate your principles, procure information for you, profit by the labours and counsels of other assemblies, and publish useful knowledge, you must be aware that the important power of communication is almost destroyed by the miserable state of the ports. Posting is almost put an end to in all Auvergne, and until it can be restored by the opening of fresh roads in the south, we conceive it very essential to re-establish the line of post houses, encouraging them, not by those privileges of which you know, gentlemen, all the inconvenience, but by gratifications more useful to those who receive them, and more justly divided amongst those who must contribute to supply them.

It would be, perhaps, proper to terminate this report by an account of the canals which have been proposed at various periods; either to unite the waters dispersed between Allier and some of our towns, or to attempt creating a navigation, very difficult undoubtedly, in the midst of the mountains of Upper Auvergne; but these projects are not yet sufficiently known for us to call the attention of the assembly to the subject.

Such are, gentlemen, the views that the committee of agriculture and commerce has the honour of presenting to you."

The assembly passed the same day a decision conformably to the observations of the report.

December 6th.

"AFTER having achieved the circle of our labours, you have charged us with preparing their reward, and your last deliberations are devoted to projects of benevolence. If the paternal wishes of the king, and our own, were fulfilled, gentlemen, the people would soon cease to look upon population as a multiplication of sufferers; but we can only at present offer them a distant hope; and the misery that oppresses them, the hunger they endure, all tends to render them unwilling to transmit an existence always wretched, and too often exposed to humiliation; let us hasten, at least, to encourage the triumph of nature over that barren sentiment of evil, and endeavour at the same time to guarantee childhood from the first dangers to which it is exposed.

An ordinance of Louis XIV., in 1666, exempted from all taxes the fathers of twelve children, dead or living, for the service of the state. We second the wish of the election of Aurillac while proposing to you to solicit the renewal of its execution.*

Of all the subjects presented to you, gentlemen, the most difficult, vast, and important, is undoubtedly the destruction of mendicity; the government, national assemblies, sovereign courts, learned and literary societies, have been making, for a length of time, vain efforts to restore to the state those parasite members. You know that their alarming number is constantly increased by those cultivators that misery has driven from their

* A project follows of creating a course of lectures in the provincial hospitals for the midwives of the country; and travelling inoculators, to put an end to the ravages of the small-pox.

homes; and how is it possible to fix vagabonds in villages where the labour of the proprietor, devoured by taxation, does not suffice for his own subsistence? We feel convinced, however, that if there be any possibility of performing such a prodigy, it must exist in that admirable organization of our assemblies, which, while gradually diffusing good principles and useful projects, and supplying us with every species of knowledge under the same hierarchy, unites, in the perfection of its system, all the advantages derived from general combination, private vigilance, and local execution. But it is mendicity, gentlemen, not mendicants, you are called on to destroy. We must not endeavour to avoid the importunity of the latter, but to save them from want; and we have only a right to deny them that miserable trade, when we have secured to them other resources. It is easier to point out the end than to designate the means. We know that each poor person should be attached to his own village by a labour proportionate to his strength, that the aged and infirm should be supplied with necessary food, and we ought to be ourselves convinced that every mendicant has sufficient to live upon before we venture to refuse him relief. Your intermediate commission, the assemblies of election, the municipalities, must all concur in this great work, which will be facilitated by the views you have adopted on the establishment of some manufactures; and we deposit here an account rendered by a charitable association in the town of Beaumont-le-Vicomte in the Maine, that proves from experience, better than we could do by arguments, to what extent slight means, supported by an active and enlightened charity, can regenerate industry and relieve misery.

The administration of prisons, and even that of hospitals and foundling asylums, has not been confided in a direct manner to your care; but benevolence is a public patrimony, and when suffering humanity is concerned, all men form but one community.

We know, gentlemen, that the directors of those establishments will feel more anxious to reply to your earnest solicitations for information, in proportion as you yourselves prove the desire of supporting their demands on government.

The memoirs of the committee of taxation and of the election of Saint Fleur have given you an account of the causes and effects of emigration, to which evil time alone can gradually supply a remedy. The same committee has made you conscious of the uselessness and oppressive charge of the present establishment of the militia; and we trust more willingly to your intermediate commission to collect precise information in the pro-

vince, as we know that that important subject has been treated in other assemblies in a general point of view, and in a most satisfactory and detailed manner.

While submitting these ideas to your examination, the committee of public good regret that they have not been able to multiply them in proportion to your zeal and their own patriotism; they hope that the different elections, the municipalities, the friends of humanity, and all good citizens, considering your assembly as the centre into which all useful projects must unite, to diffuse afterwards their vivifying influence on all classes of society, and especially on that of the indigent, will hasten to place it in our power to prove each day more fully to our countrymen the utility of our assemblies; and to our sovereign, the advantage of having established them."

The assembly framed a decision conformably to these observations.

II.

M. Lucas Montigny, editor of the "*Memoirs of Mirabeau*," declares that the following note was written between the 10th and 20th of October, 1789, at a period when people were still ignorant that the difficulty of subsistences would cease after the installation of the king in Paris; he adds, that he does not possess the original of that note, written by the hand of Mirabeau, but that General Lafayette recognised the writing of the latter in the hasty scrawl in which the following copy was made. This declaration agrees perfectly with our own recollection.—(Note of the Editors.)

There is one man in the state who, from his position, is exposed to the hazards of all events; to whom successes can offer no compensation for reverses; and who is, in some manner, answerable for the repose, we may even say safety, of the public, which comprehends the subsistences, the finances, the obedience of the army, and the peace of the provinces.

Who is that man?—M. de Lafayette.

What are the means he possesses?—A portion of the public force which is under his command, and his influence over all the springs of executive power.

That public force which he commands is an obstacle, as well as a means, and would become powerless if the subsistences

were to fail, or even turn, in that case, against its chief; this is an evident truth. M. de Lafayette must therefore be responsible for the subsistences, and be so to-day, to-morrow, every day, and every moment.

What means does he possess to obtain subsistences?—None scarcely at this present time. It is an incontestable fact, that the power of the commons of Paris is insufficient for this purpose; public force, even comprising a space of fifteen leagues, is also insufficient; the concurrence of other forces, and of all the agents of authority, is very requisite. Until M. de Lafayette has a ministry of his own, he cannot depend on that concurrence.

The public force which this man disposes of would soon become an embarrassing burthen, without the finances. It is evident that the latter will fail at the very moment when necessities of all kinds require abundance.

What means does M. de Lafayette possess for the provision of the finances?—None, if the present ministers do not assist him; and very slender ones, even supposing, what I myself believe, that their intentions cannot be opposed to him. The time approaches when slight means will no longer suffice for great things. It is therefore necessary, under this new system, that M. de Lafayette should have a ministry that enters perfectly into his views, and coincides with him on every point and in every respect.

The public force which is placed under his direction would prove of no avail if the chiefs of the army should refuse to obey, if the provinces were to become divided, isolated, and dismembered, first by opinion, and afterwards by open force. Alarming symptoms have already appeared: Britanny has armed herself; an ambitious, envious, and a personally hostile chief, threatens our frontiers;* another chief refuses obedience to the orders of the king; a province, whose pride is to be dreaded,† convokes its states, and appears vacillating.

What means does M. de Lafayette possess to prevent this imminent desolation?—None scarcely; for the force he commands is powerless in such a case. Unity of counsel, unity of action, and the coalition of every species of power, can alone produce any effect. But if M. de Lafayette does not possess a ministry of his own, how can he unite so many various efforts?

The second means possessed by M. de Lafayette consists in his influence.

* M. de Bouillé. † The Dauphiné.

But all influence is void when subsistences and finances are in question. Eloquence, virtue, public opinion, cannot give bread if corn should fail, and cannot give money without a settled plan of finance.

Influence offers a very active means of calming and restraining the provinces; but it requires to be seconded by other means. Faith in one man is the gift of heaven, and must not be depended on. What useful end may the influence of M. de Lafayette attain?—That of having ministers of his own, who will associate themselves with him in patriotic opinions, as in glory; who will not give an inverse movement to the wheels of the same machine; who will not discourage him by inaction, and alarm him by plans contrary to his own views; who, in short, faithful to popular as well as monarchical interests, to political union as well as to private friendship, will not separate their fate from his, whether it should lead to a triumphal arch or to the scaffold.

The second question is, whether time be pressing?—*In three days*, it is said, *in a fortnight, in two months.* We must inquire whether no other reply be necessary under such imperious circumstances.

In two months, the state will be either finally lost or saved. If we do not require at present any auxiliaries, if we can do without them to-day, they would accept nothing in two months, or we should no longer require their aid. *In a fortnight*—We do not then reflect the fearful progress a conflagration makes in a fortnight. It is to-day, it is this very moment, we ought to deliberate; it is impossible in the course of a fortnight not to take many decisive steps; we require subsistences to-morrow —not merely in a fortnight; it is to-day we must attend to the finances, because we must expect on this subject a thousand obstacles, a thousand unforeseen delays; the state of the provinces does not admit of this dilatoriness, and we do not tell a patient in the last agony that we will attend to his cure in a fortnight.

Three days—That is even a long time, not for good faith, but for intrigue. The best general may intend to give battle within three days, and find himself obliged to accept it in a few hours; for it has been almost proved to a certainty that combinations are in all respects inexhaustible. At this moment, combinations of all kinds clash with each other in every direction; they mutually aid in multiplying each other; they demand that union of efforts by which it is necessary to commence our operations.

But the man whom it is essential to retain* will retire, it is said, in two months. If he were obliged either to retire now or after irreparable evils, it would be desirable, as the state is of more importance than one individual, that he should retire at a time when it is still possible to save all things.

His retreat is undoubtedly an additional peril, but by escaping from that one, we do not avoid other perils; and I should prefer struggling against ten difficulties to sinking under the ninth, from not having courage to encounter ten.

But, no; he must remain, and add to his glory that of sacrificing his feelings to the public welfare. If M. de Lafayette should become the chief personage, will not all things be considered as his work?

III.

NOTE OF MIRABEAU.†

If we comprehend by the word *party*, a systematic coalition of men who, agreeing together on all fundamental principles, mutually tolerate, and even support each other, in all affairs of detail, and advance with firmness and fidelity towards one aim, there exists no *party* in the assembly or in the nation.

If we comprehend by the word *party*, the friends or enemies of the revolution, it would be improper to count but two parties; *four* in reality exist:—

Those who wish for the revolution without measure or limit, from want of principle or knowledge, and who transplant into

* M. Necker.

† When an article of some historical importance is found amongst the papers of General Lafayette, in support of his recollections, we have a double inducement to publish it. General Lafayette united the following article with some notes written by himself on Mirabeau. No private remark accompanies it, and we give it with rigorous exactness, from its being conformable to a statement found in this volume relating to the connexion of Mirabeau with the brother of Louis XVI. We shall add, without expressing any private opinion, that a part only of this article has been published in the Memoirs of Mirabeau, by Peuchet, (vol. iv. p. 5,) and that, according to that editor, the project which is alluded to was given to M. de Montmorin in the first days of January, 1790.

the constitution all the distrust springing from a state of things without a constitution:

Those who, without possessing good faith or talents, believe, or pretend to believe, in the re-establishment of the ancient system:

Those who did not wish for the revolution, but who comprehend at present that it is achieved, and desire with sincerity to circumscribe and consolidate it:

Those, finally, who have always wished for a revolution, but without being envious of time, and who desire some measures and gradations, and a hierarchy for the interest even of liberty.

This latter class governs at the same time public affairs and opinions, if at least the general decomposition does not cause their wishes and projects to be comprised amongst the numerous dreams of benevolent men. They might easily unite with the preceding class, but no central point exists.

All the ties of opinion are dissolved, and men know not under what standard they should rally. The ministers, by their excesses, have laboured to render Frenchmen averse to monarchy, and have succeeded in their aim. To palliate all the want of respect, all the indecencies of undiscipline, all the orgies of licence, they separate from the cause of royal authority the individuality of the monarch; and by means of this fiction, royal authority, and the monarchy with it, are exposed to danger, and the king himself is not in security, at least so far as plots of factious men or their friends on one side, the puerile anger and ignorance of the aristocratical party on the other, and finally, the inexperience and inability of the assembly, may compromise a security which is of such value, under circumstances so difficult, in the bosom of an idle and a suffering capital, intoxicated by a sort of fanaticism. But a society which retains some degree of organization must also possess a vast resource; this is, that the persons having something to lose or preserve are by far the most numerous class. In our country, a powerful auxiliary supports likewise this resource,—this is, our extreme fickleness, from whence springs the corrosive impatience that has prevented, until now, the duration of either good or ill in France—a disposition peculiar to our nation, which can only change by the slow influence of instruction, and of a good system of public education.

Let us take advantage of the anxiety of men of integrity, and of the love of novelty. People separate from the king, because they perceive that he abandons himself; that his ministers only think of themselves, and of escaping as they can from the

general agony without a violent death; and that royal authority, too weak to struggle against anarchy, appears to favour them, to be enabled to lay hold itself of numerous pretensions and prerogatives which all rational men feel it never can recover.

Let the king frankly declare his adherence to the revolution, on the sole condition of becoming its chief and moderator; let him oppose to the selfishness of his ministers a representative of his dispersed family, which must not be himself, because his trade of king requires that he should be free from all family interests, but which must be both the guarantee of that family, and, in some measure, its hostage, and the non-ministerial organ of the chief of the nation. As soon as confidence, or at least hope, is re-awakened, the taste for monarchy will re-appear, and the parties who sincerely desire that the French empire should not be decomposed, or become for half a century an arena for the sanguinary games of some ambitious subalterns or mad demagogues, will rally around the Bourbon, become the counsellors of the king, and the leaders of the friends of royal authority, regulate and subjugate opinion, and restrain the factious. The choice of that Bourbon is marked out, not only by nature, but by necessity, since all the princes of the blood, except one alone, are in a state of real or supposed conspiracy, and so universally considered as the enemies of the nation, that it is doubtful whether they can be saved by the accession of *Monsieur*, but certain that that alone can save them.

Should that accession be long delayed, it would only have the appearance of an intrigue; but, on the contrary, if it be connected with the occasion on which *Monsieur* had the courage to place, in his popular discourse, the king at the head of the revolution, it would possess the incalculable advantage of trying the adhesion of the king, and by all his resources in public opinion, the only ones on which he can depend, prepare for him the means of renewing, without commotion or difficulty, his own council, which is only at this present time the most embarrassing of all his baggages, and the greatest disease of the state.

IV.

LETTER OF THE KING TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.*

June 29th, 1790.

We feel the most entire confidence in you; but you are so completely absorbed in the duties of your place, which is of great use to us, that it is impossible for you to suffice for everything. We must therefore make use of a man possessing talent and activity, and who can do what you, from want of time, cannot do yourself. We are convinced that Mirabeau is the person best suited for this place, by his influence, talents, and the habit he has acquired of managing affairs in the assembly. We therefore desire and exact from the zeal and attachment of M. de Lafayette, that he should agree to concert with Mirabeau respecting the subjects most important to the welfare of the state, of my service, and of my person.

V.

COPY OF A TREATY WITH M. DE MIRABEAU.†

First, The king gives M. de Mirabeau the promise of an embassy; this promise shall be announced by *Monsieur* himself to M. de Mirabeau.

Second, The king will immediately, until that promise be fulfilled, grant a private appointment to M. de Mirabeau of fifty thousand livres a month, which appointment will continue at least for the space of four months.

M. de Mirabeau pledges himself to aid the king with his knowledge, influence, and eloquence, in all that he may judge useful to the welfare of the state and the interest of the king—two things that all good citizens undoubtedly look upon as inseparable; and in case M. de Mirabeau should not be convinced

* (Iron cupboard, No. 347.) See in this volume the note of General Lafayette on this letter, which was never sent him.

† We found the copy of this treaty under the same cover that enclosed the memorial relating to *Monsieur*, and we can only here repeat the motives that decided us to publish these two articles.

of the solidity of the reasons that may be given him, he will abstain from speaking on this subject.

(Approved) . . Louis.
(Signed) The Count de Mirabeau.

Note.—The original of this article is in the hand-writing of *Monsieur*, at present Louis XVIII.

VI.

MEMORIAL WRITTEN BY LAPORTE, INTENDANT ON THE CIVIL LIST.

Without signature, dated the 13th March, making mention of a conversation with Mirabeau. (*Iron cupboard, No.* 347.)

M. de Mirabeau spoke for a length of time, and this is an extract of what he said to me:—

"The national assembly is composed of three classes of men. The first, which does not consist of more than thirty, are madmen, who, without any fixed aim, vote, and will always vote, against royal authority and the restoration of order.

"The second is composed of about eighty persons, who are perhaps but too strongly imbued with the first system of the revolution.

"The third class is composed of persons who have no opinion of their own, and who follow the impulse given them by those whom they have accepted as guides and oracles."

We see, by this division, that M. de Mirabeau reckons for nothing the right side, and that he is only speaking of the party of the majority.

It is, he says, the assembly who ought to act; circumstances favour them, through the excesses which the first class commits.

Three parties divide at this moment Paris:—That of the aristocrats;—that of five or six Jacobin chiefs,* who appear at present united to the Orleanist faction;—that of M. de Lafayette. Nothing of the first.

The second is only atrocious, and less dangerous from that very atrocity; they will ruin themselves.

* The word "Jacobin" was not pronounced by him, but only implied.

The case is not the same with the third class. It is stamped with a plan of manœuvres from whence it never deviates; the one of the 28th February is of great depth; it affects an attachment to the king and royalty; those sentiments conceal republicanism. In short, that party unites falsehood and intrigue to the great power that circumstances have given it. The position of the king is additionally critical, as his majesty is betrayed by three-fifths of the persons who approach him. It requires dissimulation, not that species which princes are generally accustomed to use, but dissimulation on a grand scale, which, by depriving the disaffected of any pretext, would render the king and queen extremely popular.

The conference closed by professions of devotion. "I am disposed," he said, "to serve the king from attachment to his person and to royalty, and also from my own interest. If I do not serve the monarchy effectually, I shall be, at the close of these scenes, comprised in the number of nine or ten intriguers, who, having set the kingdom in commotion, will become its execration, and have a shameful end, if they have for a moment made, or appeared to make, a large fortune. I have to repair some youthful errors, and a reputation which has been, perhaps, unjustly given. I can only accomplish this, and make myself a name, by performing great services. A revolution was perhaps necessary; it has been made; we must destroy the evils that are its consequence; we must re-establish order. The glory will be great for those who co-operate in such a work."

M. de Mirabeau added, that "it would be unfortunate if the assembly were speedily dissolved. The moment was not yet arrived, but it was important to take advantage of it."

LETTER FROM THE COUNT DE SAINT PRIEST, AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE, TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.

Antwerp, September 26th, 1787.

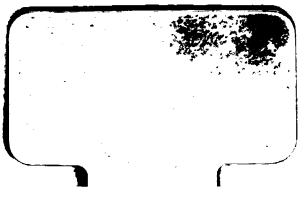
I RECEIVED, my dear marquis, your agreeable token of remembrance. I am deeply interested in your welfare, and am proud of your esteem. My embassy did not extend far, as you must have learnt. I am now at Antwerp; God knows for what length of time. I arrived in time to learn the arrival of the Prussians at Utrecht the day before. Three months sooner, I would have persuaded them to summon you; the corps of Givet would have drawn near, and our ally would have been

ours for ever. We must now alter our plans; and forty thousand men cannot now do what ten thousand might easily have done. Observe carefully whether our troops march. You are wished for in Holland, and our movements may give birth to a party there. Ternant commands at Amsterdam, and would joyfully serve under you. But if we should not march, this commission would not suit you. I know not whether the town will hold out long. I wish most earnestly to oblige the Count de Potange, but I am overcharged at this moment. If I can find a point, I will write to tell you so. My opinion is, that I ought to remain here until our party acquires more influence in Holland; we are at present equally dreaded by both parties,—the one for the sake of opposition, the other for having abandoned it.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 107, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross.

ERRATA.

Page 158, line 36, *for* heads *read* heats.
— 170, — 3, *for* their *read* these.
— 172, — 8, *for* by M. Necker, for Berry and Upper Guienne, *read* for Berry and Upper Guienne, by M. Necker.
— 221, — 25, *for* would *read* could.
— 223, — 17, *for* parliamentary *read* parliamentary man.
— 234, — 6, *for* increases *read* increase.
— 234, — 16, *for* enter upon *read* enter into.
— 253, — 8, *for* irritate *read* imitate.
— 254, — 35, *for* mercenary *read* paid.
— 255, — 1, *for* an *read* a.
— 258, — 36, *for* to corrupt. There *read* to corrupt, there.
— 260, — 9 of note, *for* expression *read* repression.
— 266, — 15, *for* dismissal *read* resignation.
— 269, — 18, *for* dismissal *read* resignation.
— 269, — 26, *for* gave his dismissal *read* gave in his resignation.
— 275, — 9, *for* Lucain *read* Lucan.
— 280, — 3, *for* mercenary *read* paid.

Page 281, line 11, *for* corporation *read* commune.
— 291, — 18, *for* arrestations *read* arrests.
— 297, — 9, *for* given his *read* give in his.
— 316, last line of note, *for* now *read* won.
— 320, — 6, *for* factitious *read* fictitious.
— 328, — 28, *for* the refusal *read* that the refusal.
— 335, — 35, *for* without *read* without our.
— 336, — 20, *for* from *read* from the.
— 336, — 29, *for* posts *read* posts of.
— 343, — 3, *for* subjection *read* subject.
— 350, — 6, *for* an *read* a.
— 351, — 4, *for* until federation *read* until the federation.
— 356, — 7, *for* his dismissal *read* in his resignation.
— 360, — 7, *for* even *read* ever.
— 375, — 6, *for* arrestation *read* arrest.
— 376, — 2, *for* arrestation *read* arrest.
— 378, — 22, *for* candle light *read* torch light.
— 390, — 2, *for* occupied attention *read* occupied public attention.
— 400, — 10, *for* feel an anxiety *read* feel anxiety.
— 426, — 1, *for* esteem, or *read* esteem, nor.